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LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1831.

## REVIEWS

*Correspondence between the Count Mirabeau and the Count de La Marck, during the years 1789, 1790, 1791—[Correspondance entre, &c.]* Collected, arranged, and published by M. A. de Bacourt, formerly Ambassador of France to the Sardinian Court. Paris, Le Normant.

It is many years since there has issued from the Parisian press a work of so much historical value as that before us. We will endeavour to present our readers with a summary of its revelations,—which throw vast light in all directions on the early history of the French Revolution. No other work relating to Mirabeau is of so much interest as the Count de La Marck's history,—unveiling, in the most unreserved way, the whole of the transactions between him and the French Court. We are here furnished with Mirabeau's actual views of the Revolution, and of the mode of ruling that event.

The Count de La Marck, born at Brussels in 1753, was the second son of the Duke d'Arenberg,—and assumed the name of La Marck on the death of his maternal grandfather. He received a careful education:—and when first introduced to the French court, was shocked at observing peers and prelates paying court to Madame du Barry. His high birth secured him employments of distinction,—and he served abroad with his regiment. With one of his officers he had a fatal sword duel, which produced serious results to his fortunes. His adversary fell beneath his sword,—and at the same moment La Marck felt his mouth full of blood. He had been wounded in the lungs without knowing it. The effects of this wound to some extent disabled him for life; and though he lived to be eighty, his activity was considerably impaired.

Count de La Marck seems from the first to have seen the necessity for change in the whole government of France. He was essentially a liberal aristocrat,—and was one of the Assembly of Notables. A brigadier in the French service, a courtier by position, and a politician by circumstances, he had the whole *tableau* of the first Revolution before his eyes. His views of the Court, of Marie-Antoinette, and of society then, are of value from their calmness and his position.—His dealings with Mirabeau, however, are, as we have hinted, the main points in this work.

La Marck had a taste for knowing distinguished persons;—and being of an observant turn, he liked to study character. He made the acquaintance of Mirabeau in 1788, at the table of the Prince de Poix, at Versailles. According to him, Mirabeau had what would be called vulgar manners. He dealt in ostentatious compliments, and exaggerated the forms of social courtesy. He was never easy. He was evidently one who had not lived in good society,—and his language to women of quality wanted grace and facility. But when the conversation turned on subjects of real interest, Mirabeau made his superiority obvious to all.

In 1789, at the meeting of the States-General, Mirabeau and La Marck met again,—Mirabeau renewing the acquaintance. “With an aristocrat like you I can converse at ease,” said the latter; “but are you not displeased with my politics?”—“With yours, and those of many others.”—“Then,” replied Mirabeau, “you ought to include those in the chateau. The State-ship is struck by a tempest, and there is no one at the helm.” Here we catch a glimpse of the leading idea that pervades the whole of this correspondence;—namely, that Mirabeau appreciated thoroughly, in its fearful import-

ance, the whole crisis, and that he felt himself to be the only person who could deal with it. He abused Necker to La Marck; and his letters treat contemptuously of the talents of both Necker and La Fayette. The correspondence sets forth the whole of Mirabeau's ideas on France,—his speculative views on our English constitution,—and his practical mode of steadyng the Revolution, and saving France and the King from convulsion and the scaffold. A constitution more or less like that of England, responsibility, and taxation by the people, were, according to him, certain to result from the assembling of the States-General. He wished to preserve the Monarchy, and was opposed to Republicanism on speculative and practical grounds. But his passions, his necessities, and his talents for declamation made him take the popular side. He was a Monarchist from the first, and his desire to support the Throne was not in consequence of the money given to him. According to the revelations of La Marck in this work, the idea of Mirabeau seems to have been this,—to act as a parliamentary oppositionist in England, and compel the Court to consent to carry on the government by adopting him as minister. “The day will come,” he said to La Marck, “when ministers must consent to argue with me, and when they will find me devoted to the Royal cause and the safety of the Monarchy.” Going away from dining with La Marck, he said, in a whisper,—“Let them know at the Palace that I am more for than against them.” This was at a time when his name was a terror to the Royalists. But thus it is throughout the whole Correspondence. We have never read in the life of any statesman of such esoteric politics as Mirabeau with marvellous versatility carried on. In the Assembly he was the actor and the tribune,—but in secret the artful counsellor. He saw that no man could dominate the popular passions but himself;—and his mode of coming to an understanding with the Court is very curious.

In the month of September 1789, Mirabeau asked La Marck to lend him some money,—and the latter gave him a rouleau of fifty louis. From that day La Marck and he became most intimate friends,—Mirabeau having at the last expired in the arms of the Count. This friendship between them caused the Court party to look with coldness on La Marck:—who really desired that Mirabeau, for the sake of France, should be enlisted in the service of the King. La Marck had the intelligence to see that neither Necker nor La Fayette could master the movement. The Queen, Marie-Antoinette, appreciated the object of La Marck:—but said to him, in conversation, “We will never be so unhappy, I think, as to be compelled to have recourse to Mirabeau.” This was at a time when the orator had denounced her in severe language. The debts of Mirabeau were then tormenting him, and goading him into a state of frenzy. Fascinated with the genius and talent of the great tribune, La Marck lent him every month, from his own resources, fifty louis. This kindness gave him much influence over Mirabeau, and made the latter bear the rebukes which he administered to his violent conduct. Under these rebukes Mirabeau would sometimes weep like a child, and exclaim, “Ah! how the immorality of my youth has injured the public weal!” He found that, despite his splendid talents, his character was so odious in public opinion that he was not able to be of service to himself or to others. With all his wondrous powers, he was a witness to the truth that “conduct is fate.” In this point of view, the character of Mirabeau as here shown becomes very

interesting. We see a man of mighty powers writhing with the misery of his position. He is agitating the whole of France while his own breast is lacerated by conflicting passions. He is the only man capable of ruling the crisis—he sees dangers, and difficulties, and their remedies,—but he will not be trusted. He realizes, so far, the fable of Tantalus. The sight of La Fayette holding great power in virtue of his character tormented Mirabeau. Thus, with balked ambition, blasted character, and ruined fortune, he was the man for a revolutionary leader.

When a large portion of England was ready to approve of the proceedings of the Revolution in France, Mirabeau prognosticated the greatest perils from it even while he was taking a part in it. Our readers will recollect the famous controversy raised by Mr. Burke on Dr. Price's Old Jewry Sermon. It is evident from these letters that Mirabeau and Burke took nearly the same view of things. Within a week after the King and Queen's being taken—or dragged—from Versailles to Paris by the populace, Mirabeau wrote a masterly paper urging the counsels that he thought expedient. He recommended that the King and Court should be removed to Rouen,—but that on no account should the monarch fly from the kingdom. The day after the dragging of the King to Paris, Mirabeau pressed on La Marck the necessity of urging the King and Queen to leave Paris. Afterwards, when months rolled by, his main project for extricating the monarchy was, to have the King retire either to Rouen or to Fontainebleau, make a declaration in favour of liberty and against violence and anarchy, and form a Parliamentary party on the English plan, giving the posts of power to those who had the courage and genius to rule the National Assembly. Thus, while opinion in England was divided as to Burke's ‘Reflections on the French Revolution,’ we see here, under Mirabeau's own pen, proof that he was a greater alarmist even than Burke. Under the date of the 15th of October, 1789, (dates here are of vast importance), we have a memorial from Mirabeau on the extreme perils besetting Paris. “Its agitated populace is irresistible. Winter is approaching, subsistence may fail; let bankruptcy appear, what would Paris be in three months? Certainly a hospital,—*perhaps a theatre of horrors.*” At this time, also, he repeatedly prophesied to La Marck the destruction of the King and the Queen:—and urged strenuously the necessity of rousing them to a true sense of their imminent peril.

Verily, this Correspondence might properly be called “Revelations of Mirabeau.” It shows that in the affair of taking the King from Versailles to Paris Mirabeau was in nowise implicated,—though at the time it was universally believed that he was at the bottom of it. His mind seemed to brood with a prophet's sense of woe over the coming time; and yet his necessities as well as his love of exciting adventure and his personal ambition drove him into action. By degrees the Court became persuaded that Mirabeau was both able and willing to help it; and it entered—very cautiously at first—into an arrangement with him. La Marck furnishes us with all the particulars:—which are very curious. We will state them in a connected way as fully as our space will allow.

The Count de Mercy was selected by the King and Queen to act for them at first. It was of the greatest importance to all parties that the intrigue (for such it must be called) should be kept secret from the world:—and seeing the extraordinary length to which the intrigues between Mirabeau and the Court were carried

[SEPT. 13, 1793]

on without successful detection at the time, we do not so much wonder at the secret of Junius. The first interview between Mirabeau and De Mercy took place at the house of La Marck, in the Rue St. Honoré; and, to avoid detection, they entered by different doors,—De Mercy by the ordinary gate,—and Mirabeau going a back way through a garden, of which the key was given to him, and entering a room opening into the garden, so that La Marck's servants should not see him. With so much mystery did this momentous intrigue commence! Mirabeau told De Mercy that the only way to avoid ruin was for the King to quit Paris, but on no account leave France,—and to set forth all his views. De Mercy did not commit himself to making any proposal to Mirabeau yet,—but deplored that the Court had not had recourse to him sooner. Then, a private meeting on the subject was arranged between the Queen and La Marck, in the room of one of the Queen's *femmes de chambre*,—for La Marck was so much the friend of Mirabeau that it was necessary to be cautious in seeing even him. The King designedly, but apparently by chance, came into the room also, and discussed the scheme about Mirabeau. All through these revelations nothing is more remarkable than the striking superiority of Marie-Antoinette over her husband. The King is shown as a compound of amiability and feebleness; while the Queen is described as full of courage and vigour,—her chief fault being a want of sustained attention to the details of business. She had much to conquer in her repugnance to Mirabeau, on account of his personal abuse of herself in the coarsest terms,—but necessity left her no choice. At last it was agreed by the Court that Mirabeau should be taken into its service,—the fact to remain a profound secret from the actual and avowed ministers of the King.

What a state of things does this disclose! But we have no room for reflections:—we must narrate the extraordinary facts that follow. The Queen was the first to inquire what should be done for Mirabeau:—and, before seeing him, De Mercy ascertained through La Marck what the great tribune required. De Mercy said that the King should pay all Mirabeau's debts,—and asked their amount. La Marck told him that Mirabeau had been borrowing in all directions, and got fifty louis every month from himself. On investigation, it seemed that Mirabeau could not tell the full extent of his debts,—but he said that he would be satisfied with one hundred louis every month. When De Mercy afterwards learned that his debts amounted only to 8,320l., he agreed that the King should pay them. The Queen also took special interest in the affair, and saw La Marck about it. Mirabeau then wrote a remarkable letter, proffering his services and zeal to the Court. This letter has already been published in Barrière's *Tableaux de Genre et d'Histoire*,—having been contributed to that work by Count de La Marck. But the present Correspondence shows the high value set by the Court on Mirabeau; for on that letter having been received, the Count de La Marck was sent for by the King, who, with Mirabeau's letter in hand, said to him,—“Keep this letter, together with these four notes of hand, each for 250,000 livres. If Mirabeau serves me as he promises, give him at the end of the National Assembly's session these notes, by which he will touch a million (40,000l.). I will also pay his debts; and tell me how much I am to give every month to extricate him from his present embarrassment.”

When Mirabeau heard of these proposals of the King, he was intoxicated with joy:—and La Marck attributes his extravagant satisfaction to his escape from the miserable embar-

rassment in which he had been living. We think, however, that the chance of serving the monarch effectually, becoming a minister finally, and wiping out the stains upon his name, may have had some effect in casting Mirabeau into the ecstasy described by La Marck. He found himself near to political power,—and hoped, it may be, to set himself right with the world before his death.

A secret interview between the Queen and Mirabeau took place in July 1790 at the Palace of St. Cloud. The Queen afterwards told La Marck that so great was the horror which Mirabeau had for a long time caused her, that when they met in the garden at St. Cloud she became agitated and indisposed. She was satisfied, however, after hearing him that Mirabeau felt loyally towards the King and herself. The effect of this interview upon Mirabeau was remarkable. He left the Queen's presence, says La Marck, “enthousiasme”—the dignity of the Queen's deportment and the grace spread over her person dazzled the great tribune as completely as they had done Burke years before. Mirabeau remorsefully accused himself to the Queen of having been one of the causes of her troubles, —and was inspired by her with fresh desire to pluck the Monarchy from peril. “I will perish rather than break my promises.” From this time he drew up a masterly series of letters of advice to the Court, suggesting modes of dominating the Revolution. As political writings these papers are admirable in the highest degree. They combine broad and general views with practical suggestions. They contain Mirabeau's mode of managing the French Revolution.—“Get the Court away from the populace of Paris, and encircle it by faithful guards. Let the King steadily maintain his prerogative, but declare against all feudalism and oligarchical misrule. Select the most able and powerful men in France, and rule by a Parliamentary majority. Be lavish in money to conciliate a majority for the Court. You must rule by opinion:—struggle by every means to gain opinion to your side. If France will not be governed by the Monarchy and the National Assembly, prepare at once for civil war,—and let the Court be ready to declare it, so as to prevent the anarchists from gaining time. On no account let the King pass out of France.”

Such was the pith of Mirabeau's advice. He had all along the working of the English Constitution before his eyes,—and his own ambition was evidently to be the Chatham of France. His memoirs for the guidance of the Court are extraordinary proofs of his fertility in resource and of the boldness of his genius. It is quite evident that the Revolution was precipitated into anarchy by the feebleness of the King. If he had acted on the advice given him in several of these memoirs, the kingdom might have been saved.

We have not space to enter on the question as to how far Mirabeau's moral character is affected by these revelations. All the world knew that there was an understanding between him and the Court; but what has been concealed up to the present time, is, the extent of alarm and the genuine fear which the great tribune felt at the Revolution of which he was a leading creator. We perceive that the French democratic press treats these letters as most damaging and disgraceful to the character of Mirabeau. In our view they only illustrate more fully the very mixed nature of Mirabeau's character,—in which vices and virtues were strangely blended. His talents, both as a political actor and as a deep thinker, are raised higher than ever by this Correspondence. His letters on the management of popular opinion are a valuable contribution to the science of statesmanship, and

must be classed with the best things from the pen of Burke.

As to the double part acted by Mirabeau, in having one language for the multitude and another in secret, we fear that the history of statesmen in all ages yields numerous precedents for it. But he must be acquitted of merely sordid views in acting for the Court. That he acted as he thought right, is evident from his desire that the whole truth should be known to posterity; and thus we find him inclosing to La Marck all his correspondence on the relations between him and the Court, so that in case of his death it might be proclaimed to the world in vindication of his memory. When that death took place La Marck and the Court were in considerable fear lest their correspondence should fall into the hands of the popular party,—and their position for the time became very perilous. The notes of hand for 40,000l. which La Marck had held over to be given to Mirabeau by the King's desire were returned to Louis on Mirabeau's death. To the last, La Marck maintained that Mirabeau never sacrificed his real principles,—which were always essentially those of a monarchist, favourable to responsible power.

From a work so full of historical materials it is evident that the world will be furnished with more biographies of Mirabeau. All the facts are at last known about him,—and a “Life of Mirabeau” is still an open subject to an ambitious *littérateur*.

In all his letters Mirabeau, we have said, is unsparing of contemptuous expressions towards both Necker and La Fayette. The weakness and narrow views of the latter appear plainly in this correspondence. If La Fayette had joined Mirabeau, the Revolution might have eventuated happily in the union of the genius and talents of the last with the high moral character and great popularity of the first. When too late, La Fayette perceived his great error. The grand blunder of La Fayette and his school was, not having perceived that the French Revolution was unlike anything previously recorded in history. How well does Mirabeau put this view in the following earnest remonstrance to La Fayette, in June, 1790.

What are we doing, Monsieur le Marquis? We are acting on the *laissez-faire*,—and at what a time, and with what adversaries? When each particular whirlwind, called “department, district, municipality,” dashes away from our system, and when the rapidity of every one of them is increased every day by fortuitous events—by the contagion of example, by the heat of the dog-days—by the most active, perverse, and obstinate men that this country conceals. Amongst many allies, you have few friends (less than you believe)—amongst many stipendiary agents, you have few servants; but I do not know amongst them either a stern adviser or a distinguished man of affairs. All your *aides-de-camp* have military merit; you could commence a fine American war with them. There is not one of your friends but has worth and merit, and they would do honour to your character as a private citizen; but not one of the former known men and the country,—not one of the latter known men and things. *Monsieur le Marquis*, our time, our revolution, our circumstances, resemble nothing that has been. It is neither by intellect, nor by memory, nor by social talents, that we can guide ourselves daily:—it is by combining meditation with the inspiration of genius and the omnipotence of character. Do you know one of your committees, or can you conceive a committee, according to the *régime* I indicate? What remains for me to say to you would be embarrassing if I were, like others, puffed up with human respect, that weed of every virtue:—for what I think and wish to tell you is, that I am more wretched to you than all that; and that though with but one eye, perhaps, but still with one eye in a kingdom of blind men, I am of more need to you than all your committees. Not but that there is need of committees; but the thing is to direct them, and not to consult them,—to spread, propagate, and dispense them,

and not to selection of men. Ma Fayette country for such evil of good to overt for liberty. But do you still destroy qualities have positive force you still be able to with to remove finishing. The above many strong Revolutio really. His removal Next w influence o

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and not to turn them into a privy council,—just as if selection was not the inevitable result of the deliberation of numbers, at a time when decision is our first want and our only means of safety. \* \* Oh ! La Fayette ! Richelieu was Richelieu against the country for the court ; and although Richelieu did much evil to public liberty, he did a sufficient heap of good to the monarchy. Be Richelieu over the water for the country, and you will restore the monarchy while enlarging and consolidating public liberty. But Richelieu had his capuchin Joseph : do you also have your grey eminence, or else you will destroy yourself while not saving us. Your great qualities have need of my impulsive force—my impulsive force has need of your great qualities ; and you still believe in little men, who, for little considerations, by little manœuvres, and with little views, wish to render us useless each to the other :—and you do not see that it is necessary that you should side with me and trust in me, just in the very proportion that your stupid partisans have decried me and removed me further from you ! Oh ! you are leading your destiny !

The above letter is a fair specimen of the many strenuous entreaties from Mirabeau that the Revolution should be grappled with energetically. But the handwriting was on the wall ! His remonstrances were unheeded.

Next week we will address ourselves to the influence which these volumes have on the memory of Marie-Antoinette.

*The Three Eras of Ottoman History : a Political Essay on the late Reforms of Turkey, considered principally as affecting her Position in the event of War taking place.* By James Henry Skene. Chapman & Hall.

In this brochure—which we observe is published simultaneously in London and in Paris—will be at once recognized the tone and manner of a state paper. The facts, figures and calculations which constitute its substance are evidently furnished by the Turkish Horse Guards. Indeed, we have no fear of being wrong in assuming that 'The Three Eras of Ottoman History' is a semi-ministerial manifesto, addressed to the fears of Europe on the internal stability of the Ottoman power,—that it is intended to prove that the Moslems would be able to defend themselves in case of attack, and that the weakness which formerly might have tempted ambition to interrupt the peace of the world in expectation of being able to snatch at Constantinople and the line of the Bosphorus no longer exists. That these probabilities, could they be established on reasonable grounds, would have a tranquilizing effect in the east of Europe, is not to be doubted; but we must leave to others, better furnished than ourselves with the means of judging in such matters, the task of determining the accuracy of the data and calculations here put forth :—content if we can give our readers a notion of the train of reasoning by which it is attempted to be shown that Turkey has passed through the period of "decline," and already appears in that of "regeneration."

The "Three Eras" may be described briefly as—The rise of the Janissaries—The transition after their fall—The formation of the Nizam or regular army on French models. The Janissaries (*Yenitsheri*, or New Troops) were the first regular army in Europe. When Sultan Osman established this armed hierarchy, the kings of France and England depended solely on the feudal lords of the two countries for support in time of war; and the fact of their being regularly trained to the profession of arms from their youth gave them such an advantage over the occasional soldiery brought into the field against them, that in the long series of great battles beginning with the storm of Agriads in 1288 and ending at Neuhaüsel in 1663 they

suffered only four signal reverses,—by Timur in 1402, by Hunyad in 1442, by Uzunhassan in 1473, and by Kinis in 1492. In that period they had extended the petty kingdom of Broussa over the vast empire of Constantine,—they had carried the Crescent to Tangier and to the Caspian Sea, to the gates of Vienna and to the Indian Ocean. Their valour and fanaticism were, however, exhausted by these victories. From that date they suffered continual defeats :—from Sobieski, Montecuculi, Prince Eugene, Suvarrow, and other European generals. But as their prowess failed abroad, their pride and turbulence increased at home. The ruler became the mere creature of their will, as was so often the case in the later Empire. The worst vices of the old Greek government revived, without any portion of the arts, graces, and elegancies which had half redeemed its grossness. This was the period of rapid decline. Both the army and the country, says the work before us,—

"contained in themselves the germ and elements of intestine discord and decay to so great a degree, that in the fifth century of their annals the frequent recurrence of insurrections among the population, revolts of provincial governors, and seditions in the army, had completed their disorganisation, deprived eight sultans of their lives or their thrones, and condemned the nation to the ignominy and loss arising from the treaties of Kainardje and Akermann. That splendid army, which by its superior discipline had wrested triumphantly with all that Europe could produce of military skill and valour at the battles of Varna, Nissa, and Kussova, and in whose ranks the sultans themselves volunteered to be enrolled as the first soldier of the 1st *Orta*, and to receive the pay of a private, to do them honour and encourage them to further deeds of high enterprise, had become an open sore in the body politic, a source of weakness, and a cause of decline. The spirit of independence cherished by the rulers of distant portions of the Empire; the elevation by Imperial favour of the sons of noble families to the highest dignities of the state; the sale of public functions in direct violation of Musulman law; the establishment of the system of confiscation of property on dismissal from office, or on private accusation; the omission of appointing the princes of the Imperial family to viceregal posts, as enjoined by organic regulations; and the practice of preventing them from quitting the capital, had gradually placed the monopoly of power in the hands of the Janissaries, who became the arbiters of the fate of the dynasty and of the Empire, like the Praetorian Guards of Rome and the Strelets of Russia, and dethroned or crowned the sovereign whom they opposed or favoured. Having lost all recollection of their ancient discipline, they usurped the high appointments of the government, civil as well as military, conferring them on those whom they protected; and their cruelty and lawlessness towards the population made them the objects of universal terror. Thus, ambition and fear, the desire of attaining rank, and the instinct of self-preservation, combined to induce great numbers, without distinction of station or calling in life, to become affiliated (*Yoldash*) in the different companies of the Janissaries. General disorder and confusion of authority, therefore, pervaded every branch of the administration, even in the reign of Sultan Ahmed III., for this corps, which was merely one of twelve composing the army, had then absorbed the whole power of the state; and the baneful effects of habitual corruption and venality had undermined the foundations of its national prosperity. The fatal results of this latter vice in the constitution of Turkish official relations were understood by many, however, and the probability of its eradication was evident as far back as the middle of the last century ; those results were even foreseen at an earlier period, as the following anecdote, recorded in an old Turkish chronicle, will show :—Selim Pasha, one of the vezirs of Sultan Murad III., having failed in an application to the Grand Vezir for a small appointment under government, in behalf of a person in whom he was interested, offered a sum of money to the Sultan himself on condition of his obtaining the object of his wishes. The

Sultan accepted the bribe, and granted the request of the vezir, who is stated by the author of the chronicle, his own secretary, to have exulted over the revenge he was thus taking for the dethronement of his family by the Ottoman invaders, for Selim Pasha was the descendant of the sovereign princes of Sheh-savar, and he foresaw the future decline of the victorious Empire in this first sale of office, in contradiction to the text of the Mahometan laws, which is explicit and peremptory on this subject."

Every new war against Austria or Russia demonstrated the utter inability of this decayed body to defend the empire which its pride and corruption were hurrying to the verge of ruin. But old tradition, the prestige of a name, fear of their enormous power, saved them for a long time. More than one sultan fell a victim to their jealousy. At length a reformer equal to the task was found in Mahmoud the Second. He determined to put down this irregular force, and establish a European army in its stead, recruited from all his subjects without reference to their religious creed. Many of the Janissaries refused obedience to his edict, and were slain in the capital. The following may be considered as a Turkish version of this affair :—and it differs considerably from that generally current, especially as to the number of men killed in the insurrection.—

"He issued a proclamation, obliging all his troops to submit anew to the discipline which they had cast off for more than a century and a half. The Janissaries refused obedience. The Sultan unfolded the Sacred Standard of the Empire, and placing himself, with his only son and heir, beside it, he appealed to the patriotism of those around him. He drew his dagger, and said, in a loud voice, 'Do my subjects wish to save the Empire from the humiliation of yielding to a band of seditionists, or do they prefer that I should put an end to that Empire by here stabbing my son and myself, in order to rescue it from the disgrace of being trampled upon by traitors ?' He then ordered that the standard should be planted on the Ameidan, or Hippodrome. Crowds of people, from the highest to the lowest classes of society, headed by the *Ulema*, or magistrates, and the *Sofia*, or students, assembled round the standard, and, having heard what the Sultan had said from those whom he had addressed, the mob, excited by enthusiasm, hurried away to carry the alarm through the town. All who possessed or could procure arms prepared them, and rushed to attack the barracks of the Janissaries. The corps of artillery, having torn off the badges, which were also worn by those abhorred regiments, that all appearance of fellowship with them might at once be destroyed, commenced the onslaught. Three hours, with 4,000 artillermen and students, incited by that resolute will, which had foreseen and provided for every possible casualty during eighteen years of apparent submission to the tyranny of a *caste*, sufficed to annihilate the military ascendancy which had once made the sovereigns of Europe tremble abroad, as it had the sultans at home. The attack, however, was directed against only one side of the square, and the other three, as well as the neighbouring gate of the town, were purposely left open, with the view that those of the Janissaries who did not wish to resist the Sultan's order might escape unharmed; and quarter was given to all who chose to submit. Similar orders having been simultaneously sent to every part of the empire where Janissaries were stationed : the same conditions were offered to 150,000 individuals affiliated to the corps. Of these, only 3,600 refused them ; and they were the most incorrigible of the chiefs. Having been made prisoners, they were tried by a regular court of justice ; and it was only necessary to prove their identity in order to condemn them, as the Sultan had carefully compiled the proofs of their respective crimes during many years. 1,800 of them were executed,—of whom 600 at Constantinople, 1,200 being put to death in the provinces ; and the remainder were exiled."

But the reformer's path was sown with troubles. Before his new army could be formed, the Russian war broke out, and Marshal Diebitsch effected his famous passage of the Balkan. Insurrec-

[SEPT. 13, 18]

tions, too, occurred in the provinces,—that of Mehemet Ali being the most formidable. It is interesting to look at the rise of this singular individual from an Ottoman point of view.—

"The attempt of his fellow-countryman, Ali Te-pedelen, to convert his pashalik of Jannina into an independent kingdom, composed of Greece, Epirus, and Thessaly, seemed to have made a deep impression on the kindred mind of the Viceroy of Egypt; and scarcely had the career of the former closed when the scheme of the latter to place himself at the head of a new state raised another and a fiercer storm on the clouded horizon of Turkey. Gifted alike with all the firmness and courage which are characteristic of the Albanian race, he was not less deeply versed than the Pasha of Jannina in the artful and astute policy which had raised them both to the government of important provinces, while the inconsiderate sympathy of France acted as a powerful stimulus to his insatiable ambition. Abd' Ullah, Pasha of Acre, the celebrated rebel, having come to an understanding with the well-known Emir Beshir of the Druses, threatened the total loss of Syria to the Ottoman Empire. The wily old Mehemet Ali, perfectly aware of the impossibility of independence for Egypt without the annexation of Syria, hoped to take advantage of this danger, in order not only to assume an imposing attitude himself, but also to accomplish the extension of the dominions over which he hoped to reign. But he commenced the execution of his deep-laid project under the garb of attachment to that sovereign whom he intended to betray, and he marched his troops against the revolted Pasha of Acre. Sultan Mahmoud understood the ultimate tendency of this movement, and enjoined his viceroy to desist from his officious zeal; and this order was the more necessary, inasmuch as the union of Abd' Ullah Pasha with Emir Beshir, which had given just cause of alarm at Constantinople, had been of short duration. Mehemet Ali attacked Acre, however, and the Sultan resolved on opposing by force his further insubordination. The Grand Vezir at that time, Kurd Reshid Pasha, who had distinguished himself in the pacification of Albania, was thought a fitting person to undertake the settlement of affairs in Syria, where the Egyptian troops were rapidly advancing when he arrived on this mission, after Hussein Pasha had failed at Seraskier, in command of the Turkish army, when it was found necessary to adopt coercive measures towards Mehemet Ali. A battle was fought at Konia, the scene of former glory, and the young soldiers of the Sultan were totally routed. The victorious troops marched on Constantinople. The greatest excitement ensued there. Many, who were attached to the ancient system of abuses which had crept into the government in all its branches, and who viewed with an eye of jealousy and distaste the uncompromising purification of that system by the Sultan, raised a spirit of opposition to his measures and his person, which spread like wildfire amongst the unenlightened classes of the population, and created a powerful diversion in favour of Mehemet Ali Pasha, while the emissaries of the latter were assiduous at Constantinople in representing him as being animated by the most orthodox horror of innovation, and as being nobly determined to save Islam from ruin. It was reported that he had a descendant of Mahomet in his camp, whom he was bringing to succeed Sultan Mahmoud on that throne which the latter was accused of having weakened by his ill-judged and heretical changes. Political antipathies and religious prejudices were enlisted in the cause, and the Sultan was called upon, for the first time, to wrestle with an enemy more formidable than revolted viceroys and foreign invaders—public opinion. A certain degree of discouragement became evident on the part of Sultan Mahmoud; and well might he feel mortified and disappointed to witness these results of a policy which he, and every intelligent and dispassionate Oriental statesman, considered to offer the only chance of rescuing the Ottoman Empire from total dissolution, although partisans of the old system were to be found even amongst nations enjoying the institutions which he was endeavouring to confer on Turkey. Wars from without, sedition within, detraction abroad, unpopularity at home,—his very ministers openly disapproving his measures, and his subjects looking anxiously for an usurper to take his place,—censure and condemnation on all sides, ex-

cepting from the chosen few who comprehended him,—the downfall of his empire confidently foretold by the most keen-sighted and acute of politicians, and his misfortunes gazed at either with cold indifference or with self-interested hopes by European cabinets,—while his health was also sinking under constant uneasiness. Such was the position of Sultan Mahmoud; and was it not enough to shake the firmest resolution, and to cause the most patriotic intentions to falter? He committed the only great error of his reign. Instead of appealing to the loyalty of his subjects, who might still have cast off their growing dissatisfaction and have rallied round his throne, as they did against the Janissaries, he decided on seeking foreign support. On applying to England and France, all interference in his difficulties was declined, on account of the state of affairs in the north-west of Europe, which were then precipitated to a crisis by the siege of Antwerp. France secretly favoured his enemy; but England had no such motive for keeping aloof,—and it was a signal error on her part not to come forward on that occasion as the friend and ally of Turkey. But it can only be explained by that radical failing of the nation which takes little interest in the vicissitudes of other States until it is forced to emerge from its indifference by commercial considerations. The consequence of this inherent apathy with regard to European questions, however serious they may be, was, in this instance, an appeal to Russia on the part of the Sultan. The Czar labours under no such disadvantage; he is keenly alive to the importance of his conduct towards other nations, and he sedulously availed himself of the golden opportunity to further his designs in the East. A Russian army arrived at Constantinople; the arrangement of Kutahie took place between the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt,—which result might equally have been produced by the appearance in the Bosphorus of the Mediterranean fleet of Great Britain, and even by a diplomatic note or manifesto. After the Viceroy had been confirmed in his governments of Egypt and Syria, his army retired, and the treaty of Hunkiar Skelessi was concluded between Russia and the Porte, by which an exclusive alliance was stipulated to the detriment of England."

Shortly after these events the Turkish army was completely broken up by Ibrahim Pasha at Nezib;—but Mahmoud died before the news reached Constantinople. Abdul Medjid continued and extended the reforms already begun. He issued the *Tanzimat*,—a fundamental decree abolishing ancient abuses, and creating new forms, if not a new life, in every department of the State. Turkey became a civilized and European power. The reign of the bowstring and the scimitar ceased at once,—and the salutary principle of ministerial responsibility was introduced in its stead. All religious opinions were then recognized. Personal freedom was placed under the guarantee of law. But most of all, we are assured, the increase, organization, and equipment of the Nizam received attention from the Government; and at the present time, we are told, "the grand total of armed men at the disposal of Turkey, in the event of her existing resources being called into play, may be quoted at no less than 664,000, without having recourse to occasional levies, which are more easily and efficiently realized in Turkey than in any other country."—The details composing this grand total are before us; but we have no means of knowing how far this Nizam may or may not be in the condition of certain other large armies which are suspected of existing only on paper. The brochure, however, is altogether curious and interesting:—not the less so inasmuch as certain questions of humanity are deeply concerned in the data here laid before the public of England and France.

*Lady Selina Clifford, and other Tales.* Edited by Lady Dormer. 2 vols. Bentley.

It would, we suppose, be expecting too much from fortune to look for the gifts of high genius in anything like the profusion needed to meet the wholesale demand for works of fiction that

at present exists. But at any rate we are entitled reasonably to hope for an average amount of honest painstaking and industry:—very prosaic-sounding qualities we admit,—but quite as rare as the "common honesty" and "common sense" of which we hear so often, and of which those of most experience in the world declare that they have seen so little. These common qualities, moreover, are the only in which Genius can take root and flourish; for without them the finest faculties grow up for a little while, and then, like the wheat in the parable, "wither away because they have no depth of earth."

There is a great deal of intellectual activity going about in the world just now. Increased intercourse has enlarged people's individual experience; and their faculties of observation have been sharpened so that it would be difficult to find a person who has not gathered together some facts and opinions which might be amusingly and profitably detailed if the writers would simply do their best:—would work honestly, discarding all vaporous ideas of literary distinction and of their own talents,—and, thinking only of the work which they have taken in hand, would "do it with all their might!" The millennial age of literature would then be come—far transcending any fancied "golden age" wherein genius, idleness, and mere inclination are to produce works which will endure for ever. The faculty of hard work and pain-taking seems to be entirely ignored by nine out of ten of those who write novels;—and the result is, a chaotic quagmire of trash, neither soft nor solid, incapable of artistic purpose,—the more provoking because there is a complete waste of all the good material that may chance to be in it.

The writer—*whoever she may be* (for that is a lady we take for granted)—of "Lady Selina Clifford," and of the other tales which accompany it, is not without a certain faculty for composition, though it runs to seed in fine writing. She exhibits powers of observation and an occasional aptness of expression—overlaid as they are with an unlimited use of superlatives—which would lead to the belief that the writer is much better than the book. Her *naïve* admiration for fine houses and furniture, and revering admiration for grand people, would seem to characterize less a lady of quality than some humble companion promoted to going into good company, and whose gratitude blinds her discrimination. Her "angelic" heroines, her "gothic hulks like miniature cathedrals," her "noble fire-places," and her "majestic sunsets," are all in the finest style of oriental tinting. As to her heroes and heroines, they ought to stand on pedestals of bride-cake. They are all created after the fashion of that princess in the "Pentameron" who, not liking any of the lawful lovers who presented themselves, entreated her father to give her a string of pearls, a quantity of sweet almonds, some milk of roses and sugar-candy, some sapphires and black silk threads—all which, in a silver trough, with a golden trowel, she worked up into a model "Prince"—very handsome, but with very little sense. All the heroes and heroines in the work before us seem to have been made of similar materials. We are told that—

"Not all the reports which had been spread of the beauty of Lady Selina came near to the loveliness which now struck every eye with admiration, as she entered the drawing-room at Elmwood. It was indeed impossible to conceive anything more strikingly beautiful; her figure was above the middle size in height, slim and yet rounded to the finest proportions,—a complexion of a dazzling fairness was relieved by the richest tints of the rose and eyes of the deepest hazel,—while fine dark chestnut hair shaded a brow of the most exquisite beauty."

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Every feature was perfect, and yet the insipidity attending on regularity of features was nowhere to be discovered. The expression was animated and glowing."

"No much for one heroine: here is another, taken at random, to match. Her name is Rosabel, —and—

"her beauty was truly seraphic both in outline and expression. Every movement was grace; her voice was melody itself, and nothing could exceed the fascination of her manner. Nature appeared to have expended upon her the richest of her gifts," &c. &c.

Now, for a hero to match these exquisite ladies—

"The Duke of Roslin was acknowledged by all who ever saw him to be the perfection of manly beauty. His tall stature, faultless figure and noble countenance were rendered still more striking by the open and generous expression, the lofty brow, the poised manner, and the commanding air which assimilated so well with his high rank, and which was yet free from the slightest pride or affectation."

Living and dying is all that these two last-named angelic beings are permitted to do. Lady Rosabel goes into a consumption, because her father will not consent to her marriage with somebody else quite as superlative as the Duke of Roslin, — and the Duke, though he looked likely for a long life, died of a broken heart and an extravagant fondness for field sports.

In 'Steinhault'—the most ambitious of the tales—there is an attempt to depict the horrors of remorse in the same otto-of-rose style. Young women who write novels may be permitted to give their own views of love and marriage, because they may by chance have had some experience in these matters,—but remorse, and murder, and revenge, and such like things they had better leave alone. They know nothing about them in the first place (unless they are very unfortunate),—and they should keep it to themselves if they do. It was once said that "a woman had better go to rob on the highway than attempt to write a tragedy,"—but the writer of the present book need not take to such a fierce alternative. She might learn to make confectionery, and try her hand at Solomon's Temple in baked sugar!

#### *Hora Ægyptiacæ; or, the Chronology of Ancient Egypt, discovered from Astronomical and Hieroglyphic Records upon its Monuments.*

By Reginald Stuart Poole. Murray.

A series of papers written for the *Literary Gazette* during the last two years of the author's residence in Egypt formed the basis of his present production. At the suggestion of the Duke of Northumberland—whose researches in Egyptology when he was Lord Prudhoe are well known—it has been much improved, and accompanied with numerous illustrations,—exhibiting, among other things, the hieroglyphical inscriptions found on the tablet of Abydos, the Royal Turin Papyrus, and a tomb near the Great Pyramid. Astronomical calculations have also been made for this work at the Royal Observatory, under the superintendence and subject to the revision of Mr. Airy, the Astronomer Royal. So far as external aids and appliances go, it wants nothing to render it complete. We would gladly go a step further, and say that it is complete in itself as in its accessories. But this truth will hardly permit. Though Mr. Poole has devoted much time to the personal observation of existing monuments—has reflected seriously upon all that he has seen and heard—has been favoured with the assistance of eminent men, such as Sir G. Wilkinson and his uncle Mr. Lane,—he has not placed the results of his investigations before the world in such a shape as to be perfectly satisfactory. The arrangement of his materials is not so orderly and clear

as we could wish. This may be partly owing to the fragmentary form in which they originally appeared. At any rate, the frequent references backwards and forwards from one part of the book to the other have a tendency to confuse the reader:—who is still more dissatisfied with the occasional deduction of inferences from premises which he is told will be established farther on.

A more serious drawback than irregularity of arrangement is, the insufficiency of proof with which we are struck. We are not aware that archaeologists have any right to satisfy themselves, or expect their readers to be satisfied, with less evidence for their opinions than other people;—but, on looking through Mr. Poole's book, we have been half inclined to suspect the existence of some such special privilege. However correct his conclusions may be, we doubt whether persons accustomed to careful induction and close reasoning would be convinced of this from simply reading his statements,—even supposing them previously furnished with the knowledge for which he seems to give them credit. Not unfrequently, as it appears to us, he is led by his enthusiasm to consider that a grand discovery which an indifferent observer—judging from the data here set before him—would reckon a mere conjecture at best,—and in some cases not a very probable conjecture. There is throughout a spirit of hasty assumption and confident assertion, not fully borne out by the evidence adduced. An illustration of what we mean is supplied by the mode in which Mr. Poole discusses a passage in Herodotus that has puzzled many learned and wise heads. After calculating from the data of the Egyptian priests the number of years that elapsed between the kings Menes and Sethos, or Sethon, Herodotus adds,—"In this time they [the priests] said that the sun had four times risen out of his customary place, and had twice risen from the point where he now sets, and twice set at the point whence he now rises; and that while these things were going on, nothing in Egypt had varied, neither in regard to the productions of the earth, nor the effects of the river, nor in regard to diseases or death." Mr. Poole's comment is as follows.—

"Many attempts have been made to explain this passage,—but none of them is satisfactory; and I am convinced that the reader will agree with me, that the explanation which I am about to offer (supported by most remarkable evidence) is the true one. It is evident that the priests told Herodotus that great periods had elapsed since the time of Menes, the first king; and that in the interval from his reign to that of Sethon, the solar risings of stars—that is to say, their manifestations—had twice fallen on those days of the Vague Year on which their settings fell in their own time, and vice versa; and that the historian, by a natural mistake, supposed they spoke of the sun itself."

After thus coolly assuming that the faithful historian of whose accuracy we are continually receiving fresh confirmations committed the strange blunder of confounding the solar risings of stars with the risings of the sun, our author has little difficulty in satisfying himself that the era of Menes is B.C. 2717; though Bunsen—whose authority is second to none—makes it B.C. 3643. We cannot do more than give the summing up of his evidence. Before doing so, it is necessary to inform the reader that Mr. Poole thinks he has discovered the use of a period among the Egyptians consisting of 365 years, which he calls the Great Panegyrical Year, and the first of which he makes to begin with B.C. 2717.—

"To recapitulate these arguments: the Egyptian priests made a statement to Herodotus, from which I find that Menes began to reign in some one of the 850 years from cir. B.C. 3490 to 2640; and Porphy-

and Solinus say that Sothis was the star of the genesis of the world—indicating that the manifestation of Sothis then fell, or was celebrated, on the first day of the Vague Year; thus shortening the 850 years to about 120. I have before spoken of the era of Menes as the same as the genesis of the world. This needs explanation. Herodotus himself, the Royal Turin Papyrus, and Manetho most distinctly tell us that Menes was the first mortal king. His accession is the date of the origin of the Egyptian race, and therefore, since they thought themselves the most ancient of men, is what they call the genesis of the world. The date of the commencement of the Great Panegyrical Year, and of the institution of the Calendar of the Panegyrics, is B.C. 2717:—a year which undoubtedly falls not only within the period indicated by Herodotus, but also within the smaller limits obtained from the statements of Porphyry and Solinus. Thus we see that the era of Menes, which was probably the date of the king's accession, or at least fell in his reign, was the date of the commencement of the first Great Panegyrical Year, B.C. 2717."

The conclusion at which our author thus arrives is mentioned at the close of his work as all but the most important discovery which it contains. We confess to a want of confidence both in the result and in the way in which it has been arrived at. With the reader's permission we will, by way of contrast, give Kenrick's remarks on the passage of Herodotus. That eminent scholar and cautious reasoner—whose translation of the passage we adopted above—writes thus in reference to it.—

"Literally taken, this account supposes a double change in the rotation of the earth upon its axis,—nothing less being sufficient to cause the sun 'to rise where he now sets, and set where he now rises.' Eminent critics [Lepsius and Boeckh] have seen in it a reference to the change of the tropics, consequent on the precession of the equinoxes. No such meaning, however, can be fairly extracted from the words of Herodotus; and if we endeavour, from what he has said, to make out what we suppose the priests to have told him, we enter a boundless field of unsatisfactory conjectures. It is not improbable that they may have discovered a secular variation in the position of the fixed stars, especially of Sirius, which they carefully observed; but being ignorant of its law, its amount, and the effects which, according to the true system of the heavens, it would appear to produce, they made the extravagant statement which Herodotus has recorded. That they considered the phenomenon as secular variation, not as a prodigy, is evident from their mentioning that no failure of crops, no deficiency of the inundation, no increase of disease or mortality had been the result."

Another of Mr. Poole's so-called discoveries is, the use of what he names the Tropical Cycle, —a period of 1,500 years. Finding in inscriptions at Benne-Hasan apparent indications of the commencements of "some very remarkable periods, probably connected in some manner with the vernal equinox,"—and inferring, from "approximative ancient chronology" and other data, that one of these commencements took place in the reign of Amenemha II., somewhere between B.C. 1950 and B.C. 2050—within which interval it is known that the Tropical Year coincided with the Vague Year, an event that could only happen once in about 1,500 years,—he says he is convinced that the Egyptian Tropical Cycle consisted of 1,500 years, for the following reasons.—

"Because, first, it is composed of a complete number of centuries; secondly, because it is nearly lunisolar; thirdly, because the Egyptians are stated by ancient writers to have had periods of 3,000, and of 500 years, the double and the third of 1,500 years respectively; and fourthly, because we cannot suppose the ancient Egyptians to have had a more accurate Tropical Cycle than one of 1,500 Vague Years. Thus we see it to be evident that the Egyptians had a Tropical Cycle consisting of 1,500 Vague Years, from our finding that the coincidence of the Vague and Tropical Years, which should mark the commence-

[SEPT. 13, '51]

ment of such a cycle, fell in the interval which the monuments give as the approximative time of Amenemha II. There is another evidence showing that the cycle which commenced in the reign of Amenemha II. was a Tropical Cycle, the commencement of which was marked by the coincidence of the Tropical and Vague Years. In an inscription in the British Museum, a copy of which is given in that useful work 'Sharpe's Inscriptions from the British Museum,' we find records of offerings having been made by or for a person of the name of Hanata, sur-named Ra-num-hat-men, at the commencement of a period which *I cannot but conclude to be the cycle of which I am now speaking.* The title of the person by or for whom this inscription was made, proves him to have been born in the reign of Amasis, the last monarch of the twenty-sixth dynasty; or, perhaps, during the lifetime of his son, who bore the prenomen of his father (Ra-num-hat) as his own name, and who was a person of great power, apparently a viceroy in the reign of Darius Hyrcanus. I formerly thought that this inscription was made in the time of the Ra-num-hat, the supposed viceroy. This may have been the case, though this conclusion cannot be drawn from the inscription, as considered separately from the date which it records. The circumstances which I have stated limit the time at which the inscription was sculptured to some years subsequent to the year B.C. 570, the earliest date we can reasonably assign to the accession of Amasis, and in the interval that we thus obtain, we find that the Vague and Tropical Years again nearly coincided at the expiration of an interval of 1,500 years after the coincidence in the time of Amenemha II.; for I have clearly shown that the Benee-Hasan inscriptions record the commencement of a Tropical Cycle with the coincidence of the Tropical and Vague Years in the reign of that king."

On the strength of such reasoning as this, Mr. Poole thinks he has "shown that the Egyptians possessed a Tropical Cycle of 1,500 complete Vague Years,"—and even speaks of it as a point "proved beyond dispute." We know not how others may feel on the matter; but if investigators of Egyptian antiquity are satisfied with no better evidence than this for their conclusions, we can only smile at their arrogating to themselves the scientific title of "Egyptologists." Such paucity of sound argument in the midst of so much unwarrantable assumption and daring conjecture does not deserve to be called "Egyptology," or any *ology* at all, unless it be astrology. We are the more surprised at Mr. Poole's confident tone, because he specifies one or two points on which he confesses that he has been proved to have been formerly mistaken.

What Mr. Poole considers the most valuable part of his work is, the proof that he has furnished of the contemporaneity of some of the earlier dynasties in Manetho's lists. From Syncellus, who has preserved these lists, we learn that both Manetho and the old Egyptian chronicle say they comprise a period of 113 generations, or 3,555 years; but, on adding together the years of each reign, we find the sum to be 4,685, or 5,049 years, according to two different readings of the text. To account for this great discrepancy has always been a difficulty. Eusebius was the first to suggest that possibly some of the kings were contemporaneous; and his idea has been adopted, with certain modifications, by Sir John Marsham, Bunsen, Pritchard, and others. Kendrick rather disconveniences the notion. He insists, with great propriety, on the entire silence of antiquity on the subject, and the improbability of the existence of rival monarchies without war,—of which no traces are to be found in Egyptian history. Mr. Poole considers he has proved this contemporaneity from the records in the tombs at the Pyramids.—

"Certain names, which can only be those of Elephantinites of the Fifth Dynasty, are found in tombs at the Pyramids of the time of the Fourth Dynasty;

and, in these instances, are mentioned with kings of that Dynasty. Consequently, we must conclude that they were contemporary with these Memphite kings; for they could not have been anterior to them." \* \* In one of the tombs near the Pyramid of El-Geesh we find many royal names,—some of which belong to the Fourth Dynasty, and some to the Fifth. The tomb is that which Champollion calls that of Eimai, one of the principal persons buried in it, an officer of Saphis I.; and in one of its chambers we find a kind of list of kings, which contains the names of two Memphites and one Elephantinite, in the following order:—Shura, Num-shufu, Num-shufu, Nufrar-ka-ra; and in another part of the same tomb we find a similar list, with the names of two Elephantinites and one Memphite, thus:—Nufrar-ka-ra, Shura, Seer-en-ra. The only peculiarities in these lists is, the repetition of the name of Num-shufu in the first of them. \* \* Further, we find traces of Elephantinite race in the names of the kings of the Fourth Dynasty; for in the name Num-shufu, the first syllable, *Num*, or *Nev*, is the name of the tutelary god of Elephantine; and we cannot fail to observe similarities in the names of the Memphites and Elephantinites as found in the lists of Manetho and on the monuments. From these considerations, it appears that the Elephantinites of the Fifth Dynasty were contemporary with the Memphites of the Fourth. \* \* While writing this work, I have received from my friend, the Rev. Mr. Lieder, one of the most important of all the evidences that I now possess of the correctness of my scheme of the order of the Dynasties. In a letter to me from Cairo, he has informed me that he has found, by clearing out a remarkable tomb near the Great Pyramid, of the time of Assa, the fifth Shepherd king of the Fifteenth Dynasty, the names of Unas and Assa together, in an inscription in that tomb; remarking, that they belonged to the same Dynasty, one being the predecessor of the other, or were contemporary. \* \* In the lines in which Unas and Assa are both mentioned, Unas is called 'Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt,'—while both he and Assa receive no titles in the other cases in which they are mentioned in the same inscription. This shows plainly that Unas, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty, was contemporary with Assa, the fifth king of the Fifteenth. \* \* The contemporaneity of Unas and Assa thus proved on monumental evidence is of the greatest importance."

We have felt ourselves bound, in justice to Mr. Poole, to give as complete a representation as we could of his arguments on this important point in his own words,—leaving the reader to judge for himself. The omissions which we have made did not appear to us materially to affect the reasoning. From an examination of the titles given to the kings whose names appear in the list of "the Chamber of Kings"—so called from being sculptured in a chamber of the temple of El-Karnak,—Mr. Poole is led to infer the contemporaneity of monarchs of other Dynasties. But we have already trespassed so long on the patience of our readers, that we must decline giving any minute description of his mode of investigation.

*The Life and Works of Robert Burns.* Edited by Robert Chambers. Vol. II. Edinburgh, Chambers.

Mr. Chambers is now half through his labour of love;—and in this volume exhibits the same unceasing care as before to bring everything together, however trivial, in illustration of the life and writings of his favourite poet. It is marvellous how he lingers over the minutest particle of written or oral information—how readily he adopts the traditions of a neighbourhood—and how unsuspectingly he receives and believes the impaired remembrances of a few survivors, and the too often commonplace gossip contributed from second-hand authorities and fifth-rate mechanics in the art of telling what little they have to say. We are still, however, thankful to Mr. Chambers for what he has

done, and is doing. He will have the satisfaction of feeling that if he has not contributed much that is important, he has been a late gleaner—and will probably be the latest. That he has picked up some scattered ears, the following rejected stanzas in 'The Vision,' printed from the poet's own handwriting, may serve as an example.—

"After the 18th stanza of printed copies:

With secret throes I marked that earth,  
That cottage, witness of my birth;  
And near I saw, bold issuing forth  
In youthful pride,  
A Lindsay, race of noble worth,  
Famed far and wide.  
Where, hid behind a spreading wood,  
An ancient Pict-built mansion stood,  
I spied, among an angel brood,  
A female pair;  
Sweet shone their high maternal blood  
And father's air.

An ancient tower to memory brought  
How Dettingen's bold hero fought;  
Still far from sinking into nought,  
It owns a lord  
Who 'far in western' climates fought,  
With trusty sword.

There, where a sceptred Pictish shade  
Stalked round his ashes lowly laid,  
I saw a martial race portrayed  
In colours strong;  
Bold, sedge-featured, undismayed,  
They stalked along.

Among the rest I well could spy  
One gallant, graceful, martial boy,  
The sodger sparkled in his eye,  
A diamond water;  
I blessed that noble badge with joy  
That owned me, *friend*.

After the 20th stanza:—

Nea by arose a mansion fine,  
The seat of many a muse divine;  
Not rustic muses such as mine,  
With fully crowned,  
But th' ancient, tuneful, laurelled Nine,  
From classic ground.

I mourned the card that fortune dealt,  
To see where bonny Whitefords dwelt;  
But other prospects made me melt,  
That village near;  
There Nature, Friendship, Love I felt,  
Fond-mingling dear.

Hail! nature's pang, more strong than death!  
Warm friendship's glow, like kindling wrath!  
Love, dearer than the parting breath  
Of dying friend!  
Not even 'wild life's devious path,  
Your force shall end!

The power that gave the soft alarm,  
In blooming Whitefords' rosy charms,  
Still threats the tiny-feathered arms,  
The barbed dart,  
While lovely Wilhelmina warms  
The coldest heart.

After the 21st:—

Where Lugar leaves his moorland plaid,  
Where intely Want was idly laid,  
I marked busy, bustling Trade,  
In fervid flame,

Beneath a patroness's aid,  
Of noble name;

While countless hills I could survey,  
And countless flocks as well as they;  
But other scenes did charms display,  
That better please,

Where polished manners dwelt with Gray  
In rural ease.

Where Cessnock pours with gurgling sound,  
And Irvine, marking out the bound,  
Enamoured of the scenes around,  
Slow runs his race,

A name I doubly-honoured found,  
With knightly grace.

Brydone's brave ward, I saw him stand.  
Fame kindly offering her hand;  
And near his kinsman's rustic band,  
With one accord,

Lamenting their late blessed land  
Must change its lord.

The owner of a pleasant spot,  
Near sandy wilds I did him note;  
A heart too warm, a pulse too hot,  
At times o'erran;

But large in every feature wrote,  
Appeared the man.

Of the poet's hitherto unprinted prose here is a characteristic sample.—

"To Mr. Francis Howden, Jeweller, Parliament Square.

"The bearer of this will deliver you a small shade to set; which, my dear sir, if you would highly oblige

a poor cripple devil as I am at present, you will find at farthest against to-morrow evening. It goes a hundred miles into the country; and if it is at me by five o'clock to-morrow evening, I have an opportunity of a private hand to convey it; if not, I don't know how to get it sent. Set it just as you did the others you did for me, 'in the neatest and cheapest manner,' both to answer as a breast-pin, and with a ring to answer as a locket. Do despatch it; as it is, I believe, the pledge of love, and perhaps the prelude to ma-tri-mo-ny. Everybody knows the auld wife's observation when she saw a poor dog going to be hanged—'God help us! its the gate we ha'e a' to gang!' The parties, one of them at least, is a very particular acquaintance of mine—the honest lover. He only needs a little of an advice which my grandmother, rest her soul, often gave me, and I as often neglected—

Leuk twice or [ere] ye loup anee.

Let me conjure you, my friend, by the bended bow of Cupid—by the unloosened cestus of Venus—by the lighted torch of Hymen—that you will have the locket finished by the time mentioned! And if your worship would have as much Christian charity as all with it yourself, and comfort a poor wretch, not wounded indeed by Cupid's arrow, but bruised by a good, serious, agonizing, damned hard knock on the knee, you will gain the earnest prayers, when he does pray, of dear sir, your humble servant,

ROBERT BURNS."

"St. James's Square, No. 2, Attic Story."

When we first heard that Mr. Chambers was engaged in relating the life and editing the works of the great Scottish poet, we were curious to see what he would say about 'Clarinda,'—the lady to whom the poet addressed so many fervent epistles. Mrs. M'Lehose was, we believe, well known to Mr. Chambers.—

"This was a lady of exactly his own age, who, having been unhappily married to a man devoid of humanity and just moral feeling, was obliged to live separately from him, in obscurity, and almost indigence, while bringing up her young family. The grand-niece of Colin Maclaurin, the friend of Newton—the cousin-german of Lord Craig, who was associated with Mackenzie in the composition of *The Mirror*.—Agnes Craig might well be a woman of intellect superior to the generality of her sex. Her husband, Mr. James M'Lehose, was now pushing his fortune in the West Indies, reckless of what might befall his wife or children. Of a somewhat voluptuous style of beauty, of lively and easy manners, of a poetical fabric of mind, with some wit, and not too high a degree of refinement or delicacy, Mrs. M'Lehose was exactly the kind of woman to fascinate Burns. She might indeed be described as the low-bred or lady analogue of the country maidens who had exercised the greatest power over him in his earlier days. He, on the other hand, overcoming by his bright intelligence and its *éclatante* fruits all the vulgarities of fortune, was calculated to make a deep impression on a heart so susceptible as hers."

Not less curious were we to see what one Edinburgh publisher would say in defence of mother.—

"There is a great want of clear light as to the commercial relations of Burns with his publisher. One thing is notorious respecting the latter—that he never settled an account till it had become a kind of impossibility to withstand the energy of the creditor. He was one of those men whose foible it is to pay most of their accounts with some little addition of expenses incurred in bringing them to open their purses, though the said purses may be all the time far from ill-supplied with money. This might seem enough to explain the delay of settlement with Burns; but, on the other hand, the time which had elapsed since the publication of the volume was not such as to appear very long in the affairs of publishing—the ordinary practice of a bookseller who issues a book for an author being to render accounts annually, at June 30 or December 31, always upwards of six months from the day of publication, and pay only six months thereafter. If Creech had acted as publisher for Burns on this footing, there would have been nothing unusual in his still delaying payment; the money, indeed, for sales previous to June, would not have been due till the middle of the en-

suing year. But we know that Burns's poems were published by subscription, Creech taking five hundred copies at the same rate as the other subscribers, with the view of selling them at 1s. of advance by way of profit. The publisher must have received the money due from a large proportion of the subscribers; and for this, as well as the price of his own copies, (125t.), it might be alleged that he was bound to pay immediately. He, on the other hand, would probably have to show that much was still unpaid to him by the public; and, if there were even a doubt on this point in his favour, he would be sure to take advantage of it. However matters actually stood, it is clear that Burns was excited to great anger by the delay of the settlement. And we must all see reason to deplore, either that he expected a settlement so soon, or that Creech put it off. Perhaps it would have been the most advisable course for Burns to have lived quietly with his brother at Mossgiel, leaving the profits of his book to be realised by some legal deputy. The time might have been improved by his writing fresh poems in the style of his 'Halloween,' his 'Cotter,' his 'Epistles,' which would have been to him a fresh source of wealth. That he did not take this course, may we not set it down in part to the very absence of those temptations which we are now apt to deplore in making literary men mercenary? Had Burns been tempted to fresh labours, even say it were by no higher motive than the desire of increasing his capital with a view to farming, it would have at least saved him in some degree from the dissipation of these precious months, and the increased bondage of self-indulgent habits. The industrious, we may be well assured, would have been the moral as well as the profitable course."

This sort of insinuated defence of the Edinburgh Lintot is followed a little later by some new information about him.—

"A respectable Edinburgh bookseller, now in retirement—who was an *élève* of Mr. Creech, but at a time subsequent to the appearance of Burns in Edinburgh—favours me with some memoranda as to the habits of the eminent publisher:—'My friend, Mr. Creech, was rather a tardy man of business, and paid little attention to it. Previous to my becoming his clerk, he had my friend Mr. Robert Miller, and several other respectable young men, to take care of his business. Being so much occupied with literary people, he seldom handled his own money. His clerk balanced the cash every night, and carried on that to next day. He had a *levee* in his house till twelve every day, attended by literary men and printers. Between twelve and one he came to the shop, where the same flow of company lasted till four, and then he left us, and we saw no more of him till next day. He was a very good-natured man, and was never known to prosecute any one for a debt.' Mr. Robert Miller, here mentioned, was the publisher of the first work of Scott—his translation of Bürger's Ballads. He sang several of Burns's songs with a felicity only to be equalled by that with which he recited some of Mr. Creech's stories."

It is not often that publishers are found writing on the subject of literary patronage. Mr. Chambers, however, has something to say on this point,—which we think might have been left unsaid with great advantage to his book.—

"It is common to write in a disparaging strain respecting the system of patronage which prevailed in the times of Dryden. There is some reason to suspect that we judge of it under the influence of maxims appropriate to a later age. Where industrial competition is keen, as it is with us, dependence in any form is degrading, and must be injurious. But in those days, when no one seems to have had any great difficulty in obtaining such a subsistence as he desired, or when men at least were generally more indifferent on such matters, dependence on exalted personages must have been differently regarded, and hence would be attended with different effects. It really does not appear, for instance, that Gay found any discomfort, or forfeited any public respect, in living with the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry. The very simplicity which so often attaches to the literary character would help in making such an arrangement easy to both parties. As for the flattering dedications of those days, we should recollect in what a degree such things are matters of form or of fashion, as titles and

expressions of courtesy are even now. Probably, when a petitioner of the House of Commons promises to 'pray' for it in the event of his request being granted, he connects fully as sincere an idea with his vows as Dryden did with his when he paid court to Halifax or Dorset."

With sample of that ambitious writing in which Mr. Chambers is at times seduced into indulging, we must conclude.—

"The Edinburgh period of the life of Burns is now brought to a close. From the facts ascertained, the testimony of respectable associates, and, above all, from the transparent evidence furnished by his own confidential outpourings, we may form a tolerable judgment of the way in which he bore the trial of a most extraordinary position. All—the admiring, the disliking, and the indifferent—must, we think, admit that Burns, externally a peasant, and of peasant breeding, but internally a great man, a hero, and a prophet, had come through the crisis without the slightest derogation from his true character. Intellectually a giant, he maintained his proportions in conventional scenes which too often cause a sacrifice of the Inherent to the Accidental, of the True to the False, of the Great to the Mean. The dignity of the whole figure, as it looms through the saloons of the polite and learned world of Edinburgh, must, indeed, form a gratifying picture in the minds of all true men for ever. For once the natural lineaments of a MAN stand forth in undoubted grandeur, without being in the slightest degree affected either by past or by present circumstances. It will be seen that, as a necessary part of the great character which he maintained so well, Burns preserved perfect modesty regarding his own pretensions. Not one trace of that vanity which has diminished the shadows of so many bards can be detected in him. The heart, too, is right; he forgets no old friend, nor does he lose one jot of his original love and respect for the class amongst whom he spent his early days. With such admissions in his favour, may we not say that he passed through his sixteen-months' trial triumphantly? Yes; but it will be remembered that Burns had continued during this time to be that same passion-driven being which he was, so much to his own loss, in earlier years. In point of fact, this cannot be disputed; his own words at once admit, and, in part, expiate the fault. 'My greatest enemy is MOT MEME!'—words ever memorable, and ever touching. What can be said but that he was not a man to be judged by ordinary rules? His emotional nature was Titanic, like his intellectual. The features are exaggerated, even terrible, yet noble beyond ordinary humanity; and to criticise them by common standards, would be like arraigning the deeds of a Prometheus before the bar of a Dutch consistory, or measuring the movements of a Wallace or a Schamyl by the code of Sir David Dundas. To say that this is a view dangerous to the interests of society, is preposterous. It will be time to do so when Burns comes 'not single spies, but in battalions.'

We are not certain that we like either the manner or the morality of this. But Mr. Chambers is led away by enthusiasm for his subject.

*The Natural History of Ireland. Birds.*  
Vols. I. II. III. By W. Thompson, Esq.  
Reeve & Co.

IRELAND has a peculiar interest for the naturalist. Separated by a wide sea from the rest of the British Islands, it presents distinguishing peculiarities on this account alone; but as, in addition, the most western portion of our islands,—and more nearly connected on the one hand with the Western world and on the other with the southern parts of Europe than others,—it is a spot on which to solve some of the most important questions relating to the ages of geological strata, and the catastrophes which they have undergone,—as well as the not less interesting points connected with the geographical distribution of plants and animals. Already has Professor E. Forbes inferred from the identity of vegetable and animal forms in Ireland and in the South of Europe, that formerly land existed continuously in the

same direction;—and from a comparison of the forms of plants in Ireland and in America he first threw out the suggestion that by inquiries in this direction we might establish the fact of an Atlantic Continent stretching from the old to the new world, and covered with organic beings passing from centres of creation to the east and the west, the north and the south. This suggestion—which at first looked like a wild hypothesis—is gaining credence every day,—and accumulating facts are pronouncing in its favour. We have referred to this for the purpose of showing the importance of every fact in the natural history of Ireland.

Whilst mere lists of species may thus subserve the purposes of the philosopher, who sees in them the clue to some of the great riddles of creation,—the ever-varying forms and ever-changing modes of the life of animate creatures have an interest for the mind independently of their relations or their general laws. There is a beauty in the flight and colour of the bird, an interest in its maternal instincts, its constructive powers, and its varied song, which though they originate in the laws of its existence, can be felt and delighted in irrespectively of the study of those laws. It is on this account that Mr. Thompson's work will be valued not only by the man of science,—but by all who have a love of nature. 'The Natural History of Ireland' is not intended to embrace all that is ordinarily comprehended in the term Natural History. Mr. Thompson, however, informs us that he has matter on nearly every branch of zoology ready for the press. He has published the 'Birds' first for reasons of convenience to himself,—and the public may speedily expect the rest. It may be well to inform our general readers—our natural history readers do not need the information—that Mr. Thompson, who thus undertakes to grapple with the whole range of zoological science, is President of the Natural History Society of Belfast,—and has devoted the greater part of an active life to the study of zoology,—especially of the zoology of his native country, Ireland. Much was expected from this work of his by the naturalists of Europe;—and we may safely say that he has not disappointed their expectation so far as he has yet gone.

The following passage, from the Preface, giving an account of the influence exerted by the operations of man on the presence of animals, will serve as a specimen of the author's style and an introduction to his work.—

"It is interesting to observe how birds are affected by the operations of man. I have remarked this peculiarity at one locality near Belfast, situated 500 feet above the sea, and backed by hills rising to 800 feet. Moss-bog ground, the abode of little else than the snipe, became drained, and that species was consequently expelled. As cultivation advanced, the numerous species of small birds attendant on it became visitors, and plantations soon made them inhabitants of the place. The landrail soon haunted the meadows, the quail and the partridge the fields of grain. A pond, covering less than an acre of ground, tempted annually for the first few years a pair of the graceful and handsome sandpipers, which, with their brood, appeared at the end of July or beginning of August on their way to the seaside from their breeding haunt. This was in a moor about a mile distant, where a pair annually bred, until driven away by drainage rendering it unsuitable. The pond was supplied by streams descending from the mountains through wild and rocky glens, the favourite haunt of the water-ouzel, which visited its margin daily throughout the year. When the willows planted at the water's edge had attained a goodly size, the splendid kingfisher occasionally visited it during autumn. Rarely do the water-ouzel and kingfisher meet 'to drink at the same pool,'—but here they did so. So soon as there was sufficient cover for the water-hen (*Gallinula chloropus*), it, an

unbidden but most welcome guest, appeared and took up its permanent abode:—a number of them frequently joining the poultry in the farm-yard at their repast. The heron, as if conscious that his deeds rendered him unwelcome, stealthily raised his blue bulk aloft, and fled at our approach. The innocent and attractive wagtails, both pied and grey, were of course always to be seen about the pond. A couple of wild ducks and two or three teal, occasionally at different seasons, became visitors; and once, early in October, a tufted duck (*Fuligula cristata*) arrived, and after remaining a few days took its departure, but returned in company with two or three others of the same species. These went off several times, but returned on each occasion with an increase to their numbers, until above a dozen adorned the water with their presence. During severe frost, the woodcock was driven to the unfrozen rill dripping into it beneath a dense mass of foliage; and the snipe, together with the jack-snipe, appeared along the edge of the water. The titlark, too, visited it at such times. In summer the swallow, house-martin, sand-martin, and swift, displayed their respective modes of flight in pursuit of prey above the surface of the pond. The sedge-warbler poured forth its imitative or mocking notes from the cover on the banks, as did the willow-wren its simple song. This bird was almost constantly to be seen ascending the branches and twigs of the willows (*Salix viminalis* chiefly) that overhung the water for aphides and other insect prey. In winter lesser redpolls in little flocks were swayed gracefully about, while extracting food from the light and pendant bunches of the alder seed. Three species of tit (*Parus major*, *cæruleus* and *ater*), and the gold-crested regulus, appeared in lively and varied attitudes on the larch and other trees. In winter also, and especially during frost, the wren and the hedge accentor were sure to be seen threading their modest way among the entangled roots of the trees and brushwood little elevated above the surface of the water. So far only the pond and bordering foliage have been considered: many other species might be named as seen upon the trees. On the banks, a few yards distant, fine Portugal laurels tempted the green-finches to take up its permanent residence, and served as a roost during the winter for many hundred linnets, which made known the place of their choice by congregating in some fine tall poplars that towered above the shrubs, and thence poured forth their evening jubilee."

The present work—containing all the birds—consists of three volumes. The first is devoted to the Raptore and Insecessores,—the orders which include the birds of prey and the perching birds. The second includes the Rasores and the Grallatores,—the scratching birds and the waders. The third embraces the Natatores, or swimmers. In treating each several bird, the plan pursued by Mr. Thompson seems to us a judicious one. He has not—as is so often thought necessary in works of this kind—given any technical description of the bird, nor repeated any of the ordinary details of its habits except so far as to confirm his own observations or those of his original correspondents. On this account, even the professed ornithologist will find the volume full of novelty and interest. The book might be properly called a Cyclopædia of the habits of birds in Ireland.—We cannot doubt that it is Irish air which produces the peculiar character of the Irishman. Irish birds of the same species have no special distinctions, and do not blunder more than their neighbours on this side of the water.

We might quote many an interesting passage from Mr. Thompson's work, about robins, magpies, sparrows, martins, and the rest of our almost domesticated wild animals; but we will content ourselves with a single extract,—and that shall relate to the least common and most noble of our birds—the golden eagle.—

"In the two excellent works, 'Gardens and Menageries of the Zoological Society,' and 'Illustrations of British Ornithology,' the golden eagle is characterized as indocile. In the latter work, Mr. Selby

speaks from his own experience of two individuals which were kept by him for some years. But my friend, Richard Langtry, Esq., of Fortwilliam, near Belfast, had in 1838 a bird of this species which was extremely docile and tractable. It was taken in the summer of that year from a nest in Inverness-shire, and came into his possession about the end of September. This bird at once became attached to its owner; and after being about a month in his possession, was given full liberty,—a high privilege to a golden eagle having the use of its wings,—but which was not abused, as it came to the lure whenever called. It evidently derived much pleasure from the application of the hand to its legs and plumage, and permitted itself to be handled in any way. As one of the first steps towards training this eagle for the chase, it was hooded after the manner of a hunting hawk; but the practice was soon abandoned as unnecessary, in consequence of its remaining quiet and contented when carried on the arm of its master. It was unwilling, indeed, to leave him even to take a flight unless some special 'quarry' was in view. When at liberty for the day, and my friend appeared in sight at any distance, his arm was no sooner held out towards the affectionate bird than it came hurriedly flying to perch upon it. I have, when in his company,—for it was quite indifferent to the presence of strangers,—seen it fly to him without any food being offered not less than a dozen times within half an hour. When on the ground, and the lure was thrown comparatively near, this bird preferred running,—which it could do very fast,—to using its wings." \* \* This golden eagle was more partial to alighting on trees than the sea eagles were. Flying from one group of them to another, it in this manner followed its master about the demesne, indolently remaining as long as possible where it perched consistently with always keeping him in sight. My friend discontinued any further training of this eagle on account of its boldness, as it flew not only at well-grown cygnets of the tame swan, but at the old birds themselves, which were obliged to take to the water for safety. It also flew at dogs; so that its liberty had to be lessened. This bird has now been for some years in the menagerie of the Royal Zoological Society, Phoenix Park, Dublin."

Mr. Thompson has not confined himself to his own observations:—he has, as we have indicated, availed himself of an extensive natural history correspondence to render his volume more useful and instructive.

We are glad to find that Mr. Thompson exhibits a generous spirit towards his feathered favourites,—and loudly condemns the wholesale murder of these innocents that goes on merely for the sake of amusement. He says that "everywhere around the coast and at inland lakes, where birds are not specially protected, their decrease is apparent," through mere wanton persecution. He mentions an instance of an officer at Dublin who laid a wager that he would shoot 500 birds in a day on Lambay Island. Servants were constantly employed in loading his guns and filling hampers with the slain;—and long ere the sun had set this gallant soldier's bloody task was accomplished.—Another form of the destructive mania is, that of collecting birds' eggs. Such is the spirit that has seized on a large number of the population of Ireland within these last ten years for possessing birds' eggs, that our author says he has had serious doubts as to the propriety of naming particular breeding haunts of the grallatorial and natatorial birds lest he should minister to this unmanly passion for the collection of what to their possessors can at best be only unmeaning curiosities.

*Reformatory Schools, for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes, and for Juvenile Offenders.* By Mary Carpenter. Gilpin.

THIS is an intensely earnest,—and, by virtue of its intense earnestness, an eloquent and impressive—appeal on behalf of the cast-aways of our

individuals. But my dear, near which was taken in the mess-shire, end of September, to its possession, to a but which whenever sure from the plumage, way. As a eagle for of a hunting master, to take in view. It appeared sooner held came hurriedly when in his presence any food within half the lure was further run, using its partial to. Flying in manner indolently searched con- right. My this eagle only at well- old birds in the water its liberty for some logical So-

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en of the , and for Carpenter.

y virtue of and impres- ons of our

social system. The writer evidently has a large and intimate acquaintance with her theme,—as it exists both in books and Parliamentary returns, and in the actual world of London and Provincial life. Her heart as well as her head is in the work. The one true human sympathy enables her to speak to all other sympathies. Though the form of her appeal is logical and expository, the woman's feeling shows itself at every turn. In seven brief but terrible chapters she discusses some of the darkest problems that perplex jurists and statesmen in our day and generation:—the actual state of the juvenile population,—the principles which ought to govern any attempt to deal with the heirs of crime,—the nature and effects of the Ragged School system,—the character of our present free day schools,—the necessity which exists for a system of industrial feeding schools,—the inefficiency of the gaol as a school for the young, and the results of various attempts to establish general reformatory schools.

On most of these points Miss Carpenter puts forth statements and opinions such as are by this time familiar to all readers of the *Athenæum*. She takes it for granted that if anything can save the children of crime from their evil chances in life—courses as fruitful in pain and wretchedness to the criminal as they are hateful and hurtful to the orderly portion of society,—it must be education: not education in the narrow and conventional sense,—mere reading, writing, and ciphering,—but that larger science which includes the formation of character, the direction of all the faculties, and the settlement in life. But then the question arises:—Can such an education as this—involving early nurture, moral and industrial training, a scheme of life and admission within the general sphere of social sympathy and respect—be given to the out-ways of the world without interrupting the present moral relations of mankind? Our enthusiastic reformer thinks it may,—and writes a present book to prove it. She considers that he has here "proved that reformatory schools, adapted to the various conditions of the perishing and dangerous classes of children, both can, and, under Providence, will produce the desired effect of checking the progress of crime in those who have not yet subjected themselves to the law, and reforming those who are already convicted criminals."

In her chapters on the Gaol, "the only school provided in Great Britain by the State for her children," the writer shows the waste of life and energy caused by imperfect systems and degrading punishments. But in this chapter the reformer is taken too much with the sentimental aspects of her theme,—and leaves the profound depths of the question unexplored. Indeed, the philosophy of the Gaol is scarcely a subject for a woman's handling. Certain it is, that thus far it has not been satisfactorily examined and resolved. Beccaria, with his clear and brilliant intellect, first suggested the ruling ideas which underlie the theory of punishment. The French Mably and the English Paley merely repeated and travestied his thoughts:—even Bentham failed to advance the theory laid down by the Milanese more than a point or so. Beccaria demonstrated that the modes of punishment common in his time were false, absurd, and ineffective. It is perhaps equally demonstrable that both the theory and the practice of punishment now existing are irrational. For the last sixty years men have had their attention chiefly engaged with the trying of experiments and the discussion of systems. First, "classification," then "separation," afterwards "segregation," were tried. These all failing, the "silent," the "social," the "isolated," the "segregated" systems were put in practice. Wits

fell to work to discover whether cells 10 feet by 8 were better than cells 9 feet square,—whether a peak-cap was better than a hat,—whether school should be kept in a passage or in a room,—whether dirty faces should be washed in warm water or in cold. In these details the vast and vital question is almost forgotten. The prisoner is sent to gaol because possessed by a moral disease. He is sent thither for treatment—if possible, for cure—of this disease. The absurdity of our system shows itself even in the act of his commitment:—he is committed for a fixed term. Fancy a physician sending a patient with a fever or a broken limb to an hospital for seven days or three months! When the offender is received at the gaol, no attempt is made to ascertain his moral condition, to detect the diseased part of his mind. He is merely forced into a certain condition of unnatural restraint, like a thousand others, all morally smitten, like himself, in some part of the mental constitution. There is the same treatment for all. What would be thought of a surgeon who could dream of employing the same instrument to extract a corn and to amputate a limb? But if bodily ailments require a variety of treatment, in most cases special and particular, how much more must moral ailments need this individual study and attention! If it be objected that our present gaol machinery will not allow of individual treatment, the objection only proves that we are not labouring with good instruments. Machinery must be made to adapt itself to principles,—not principles to machinery.

Following out to their fair issues her own trains of thought, Miss Carpenter arrives at these four results.—

"First,—That, as a general rule, all children, however apparently vicious and degraded, are capable of being made useful members of society, and beings acting on a religious principle, if placed under right influences, and subjected to judicious control and training. The comparatively few exceptions that would occur do not invalidate the principle. Secondly,—That the present system adopted towards offending children renders them almost certainly members for life of the criminal class, for it neither deters nor reforms them; while, by checking the development of their powers, and branding them with ignominy, it prevents them from gaining an honest livelihood. Thirdly,—That good Penal Reformatory Schools conducted on Christian principles, where there is a wise union of kindness and restraint, have produced the desired effect of enabling the most degraded and corrupt to become useful members of society;—but that such institutions cannot be efficiently carried on, or maintained, without a steady income, which cannot be certainly or justly raised by individual effort alone, and without such legal authority as will impose sufficient restraint over the scholars to keep them under the School influence. Fourthly,—That the parents being in reality the guilty parties rather than the children, since juvenile delinquency usually originates in parental neglect, every parent should be chargeable for the maintenance of a child thrown by crime on the care of the state, as much as if the child were at large, and should be held responsible for the maintenance of a child in a Reformatory School, or made in some way to suffer for the non-discharge of this duty.—If these four results are true ones, legislative enactments will be needed to carry the spirit of them into operation."

—These propositions are built up carefully on facts and arguments which can hardly fail to carry conviction to the reader's mind.

We would recommend such of our readers as take an interest in the condition of the lower orders—and if most of them do not, we have laboured many years in vain—to add Miss Carpenter's 'Reformatory Schools' to their collection on that subject. If we have not ourselves dealt with the volume at great length, it is simply for the reason already given,—our own

columns have been long familiar with its substance.

*Posthumous Memoirs of Louis Baron von Wolzogen, General of Infantry in the Prussian Service*—[*Memoiren, &c.*]. Edited, with an Appendix of Official Military Reports, by Alfred Baron von Wolzogen. Leipzig, Wigand; London, Dulau & Co.

The noble family of Wolzogen, originally Austrian, was expelled from a domain west of Baden, with its castles of Neuhaus and Arnsdorf, by Ferdinand II.,—for adherence to the Lutheran creed. Hereupon it obtained a settlement in Meiningen: where the subject of these *Memoirs* was born in 1773—the youngest son of Baron Ernst Ludwig, then a minister of Saxe-Hildburghausen. The other children were, a daughter, who died early, and four sons; of whom the eldest, Wilhelm, married that *Fraulein von Lengefeld*, sister-in-law of Schiller, known as Caroline von Wolzogen, by her elegant biography of the poet. The circumstances of the family can hardly have been affluent; and the opportunities of such advancement as the high-born could accept without disgrace must have been scanty in one of the smallest courts of Germany. Inheritance of equal rank by all the scions of a noble house, and the difficulty of finding military or civil posts suited to their rank in States of the fourth or fifth order, produced in the eighteenth century a numerous class of adventurers, who repaired to other German courts, or went abroad in search of fortune. Such was the destiny of the Wolzogens,—all of whom we find in services more or less foreign. The eldest, indeed, obtained a civil office on Saxon ground, in the cognate Duchy of Weimar; the second died at Java, as Colonel in the Dutch service; another gained the same rank in the Prussian army; and the Cadet, whose memoirs are now published, after fluctuating between Württemberg and Prussia, transferred his allegiance, after the battle of Jena, to the Russian crown,—and served in its army until after the Congress of Vienna. He returned to the Prussian service,—and there remained in many high employments, until superannuated in 1826. From this period until near the time of his death (at Berlin in 1845), the veteran amused his leisure with recording the changes of his career through a period full of gigantic events,—in many of which it was his fortune to play no inconsiderable part.

The memoirs thus produced possess a two-fold interest. On the one hand, it casts a curious light on many things in the society and politics of the old German empire to trace the adventures of a soldier of fortune on the very eve of its overthrow; to note in what points changes in civilization, the artificial state of expiring courts and diplomacies, and the modern forms of their military system, distinguish him in position and conduct from the Dalgettys and Mansfelds of the Thirty Years' War. On the other hand, the story brings out many notable features of a state of things extant within the memory of man, and now totally effaced,—many figures of remarkable men, of whom the least glimpse is precious; and arriving at the period of the Russian war, it acquires the character of an important historical document,—in which affairs of the highest moment and incidents of exciting grandeur are witnessed or explained by one who was himself a prominent actor in many of the chief transactions. We have accordingly a book in some parts entertaining, in others both instructive and valuable as testimony of weight on many considerable subjects. The minutiae of military details during the war period, and the description of various administrative services after the Peace, may, indeed, oppress the

idle reader with a certain tediousness, which the skill of a practised author would have avoided. But this very preciseness of the General, in stating all that seemed important to himself, without regard to its effect on others, is one authentic sign of a faithful and unvarnished record. Had it appeared with all superfluities cut off, and every part nicely proportioned, it might no doubt have been more pleasant to read; but we could hardly then have received it with the confidence due to a memorial which both by its faults and by its merits approves itself an unsophisticated work of the veteran.

In 1781 Louis von Wolzogen was sent for education to the Stuttgart *Carlschule*, now memorable only as the scene of Schiller's early trials. The poet had already left the school, and his flight from Stuttgart took place in the year following. During this interval Wolzogen did not enjoy Schiller's acquaintance; which he made afterwards by the introduction of an elder brother, a school comrade of the poet. Among the contemporaries of Louis, however, was the illustrious Cuvier,—then studying theology on one of the Duke's exhibitions, with an eye to Tübingen. The tuition is described as altogether bad,—the teachers being mostly dull and careless. The result to young Wolzogen was, by his own avowal, an imperfect education; the disadvantages of which he could never afterwards overcome,—although he seems to have been always diligent, especially in military studies. It is notable that he began while young to write on the science of his profession, and continued in this way with practical success,—the tutorship to a Würtemberg prince, which he accepted in 1802, being the first fruit of his Essays on the Art of War. Yet he confesses that he never so far mastered the defects of his early training as to acquire the power of writing his own language correctly; and at a later period, when in Russia, the inability to learn the language, which aggravated the other difficulties of a foreigner in this service, is ascribed to causes which might have been removed in youth by a sound education in grammar.

The school, it is well known, was a kind of hobby of the Duke's. He made regular visits to it; and would examine the pupils himself, although with but little knowledge of the subjects which they studied. He also superintended their discipline personally,—in a manner that sometimes led to strange scenes.

The Duke had laid down the regulation that every pupil who had committed any fault should receive from the tutor of his class a ticket, on which his offence was inscribed. This ticket the unlucky wight had to present to the Duke; who thereupon personally ordered the punishment. There happened to be in the school a certain Count Nassau, a thorough pickle, to whose share these tickets fell in dozens. One Friday, when the Duke, according to custom, was inspecting the school, with his mistress, the Countess Francisca von Hohenheim, leaning on his arm,—and this Count Nassau had to hand him a whole basketful of penal tickets,—the Duke angrily asked him,—“Now, tell me, you Count Nassau, if you were the Duke and I Nassau, pray how would you deal with me in such a case?” The Count hereupon, without an instant's hesitation, seized the Countess by her arm, gave her a hearty kiss, and answered,—“I would do that, your Highness; and then say, ‘Come, Fanfankin’ (*Fränzel*), let that young booby go his ways!” The Duke, struck dumb by the presence of mind and effrontery of the culprit, found it best to treat the thing as a joke,—and forgave him all the penalties into the bargain.

On leaving school, Wolzogen entered the Würtemberg service; which two years later he exchanged for the Prussian, on the first breaking out of the revolutionary wars in 1792. Between this period and 1802, when he became

tutor to Prince Eugene of Würtemberg, the young soldier, amidst the gaieties of his age, steadily pursued the studies on which his future success was built. The reputation which he gradually acquired in the scientific part of strategy was a sure way to employment at a time when the art of war had greatly sunk out of practice, as he says, in all the German armies. We find him henceforward constantly on staff duty, or engaged in surveying with a view to military operations on a grand scale:—and during his performance of such tasks, especially while with the Russians, he discovers at head-quarters an incapacity, disunion, and feebleness in all that regards the higher parts of command which sufficiently explain Napoleon's rapid successes in the first ten years of the new century. The particulars of this condition of affairs, being numerous and detailed, must be sought in the ‘Memoirs’ themselves. It must suffice to say here, that they are stated with more plainness than has usually been hazarded on this head by the military writers of the time: for which reason, independently of others, the work challenges the attention of general as well as of professional students of its history.

Having described a result the development of which extends to a later period, we may return for an anecdote or two to Wolzogen's early reminiscences;—some of which carry us to the literary circles of Weimar,—where his brother was already settled, the husband of Schiller's sister-in-law. Here, besides the resident worthies, we are glad to catch a glimpse of no less a guest than Jean Paul Richter; and we also learn an interesting bit of the secret history of ‘Wallenstein.’

Jean Paul's uncommonly quick intellect, and his extreme joviality, made him the most agreeable of companions. Besides this, he was so far from despising the material enjoyments of life, that I have often had the pleasing task of escorting him home in a rather muddled condition. Goethe used to compare him in such moments to a salamander,—a simile admirably descriptive of the sparseness of his figure at that period. \* \* I also paid a visit of some days to Schiller, who at that time still resided at Jena; and was received with the utmost cordiality by him and by his excellent wife. In particular, he spoke a good deal to me of ‘Wallenstein,’ with which he was just then eagerly occupied. He begged me to furnish him with a faithful image of one of the battles in the Thirty Years' War, in order that he might borrow from it the general tone of colour for his picture of the death of *Max Piccolomini*. But when I came to him with great guns, culverins, and bombs, he clasped his hands together over his head, and exclaimed,—“How can you expect me to choke up a scene which ought to make the highest tragic impression on the spectators, with all this smoke and noise? *Max* must not fall by a bullet:—besides this, his death must be related only, not acted on the stage,—something in the same way as Théramène, in ‘Phaedra,’ reports the fate of Hippolytus!” He was long scheming, this way and that, how he could best dispose of his hero on this principle; and every day I brought him a new plan, which he less constantly rejected, as savouring far too much of military science. At length his determination was fixed. “I have got it!” he said. “*Max* must not die by an enemy's hand; he must fall a sacrifice to death under the hoofs of his own horse, at the head of his Cuirassier troop!”—And thus arose that admirable description by the Swedish Captain which we all read and admire to this day.

When Würtemberg, created a kingdom, became the humble ally of France, Wolzogen could not long forget that he was a German, although a soldier of fortune,—and made interest to regain his rank in the Prussian army. Before this could be done, however, he came on more than one occasion into immediate contact with Napoleon: who naturally was anxious to know precisely the value of a military force which was now a French instrument. Wolzogen's

sketch of the Great Conqueror is worth noting, as drawn by one whose feelings then and ever afterwards were inimical to his person. The following interview took place, in 1806, on the eve of Napoleon's campaign against Prussia.

Introduced by the principal Chamberlain, M. de Re-musat, and conducted with great precaution through several rooms, the doors of which were instantly shut after I had entered,—I found the Emperor, in the forenoon of the 29th of September, in his cabinet alone. He received me very graciously, and held out his hand for my despatch. While he was glancing at the King's letter, and in doing so turned his person somewhat aside, I had an opportunity of perceiving through an open buttonhole something metallic that glittered under his vest: which afterwards led me to suspect that it was his custom to secure his life against unexpected assaults by constantly wearing some kind of breastplate. After he had rapidly run through the letter, he said,—“Et comment se porte le Roi? He accompanied these words with a jocose motion of his hand, which was meant to indicate the corpulent figure of the King. After I had answered his inquiry, he began in short abrupt phrases to cross-question me on the state of the Würtemberg army, “when it would be able to march,—how it was composed, —and finally, to which of the generals I would give the command if it were the selection in my hands?”—I replied frankly, “To no one of them. They were all, indeed, brave men, but grown old and dull in a long peace, and not one of them had seen actual war. That he must, accordingly, give them a French commander, who might at first insure the troops to arms in blockades, sieges and other minor services; this once done, however, they would be equal to his own veterans, for the native stuff was as good as could be desired.” In thus speaking the plain truth I conceived that I was best consulting the interest of the King my master and of the army to which I belonged,—instead of misleading Napoleon by any false boasting of mine into using our troops in a wrong manner,—the consequence of which could only be to injure both. Besides this, a man like Napoleon would soon have seen through me, had I attempted any rhodomontade; and all I should have gained at last would have been the honour of being regarded by him as a vapouring fool. As it was, the Emperor seemed quite satisfied with my answer. He continued the conversation for some time, and demanded my opinion on many subjects, chiefly military. All his questions and remarks on my replies were less intelligent than precise; and revealed but too plainly the eminent capacity and the stupendous quickness of eye to which the Emperor owed all his successes, whether in the field of battle or in the cabinet. I must confess that I never liked Napoleon. \* \* Soon afterwards I gave up without hesitation all the brilliant promises by which the King tried to retain me in his service,—in order that I might take the field against this universal conqueror. Nevertheless, after that personal interview, I could not conceal from myself that he above all whom I had ever seen was the man most able to manage affairs on a grand scale, and on this account I could not refuse him in admiration what was denied by sympathy. \* \* All, indeed, who have ever had an opportunity of transacting business with him personally—however bitterly they may have hated him—have been inevitably forced to admit his genius to the fullest extent.

The design of re-entering the Prussian army was defeated by the disastrous result of the campaign which began and ended with Jena. There being now no hope from Berlin, Wolzogen, fortified with introductions from the (Russian) Duchess at Weimar, offered his sword to the Emperor Alexander; having meanwhile obtained a promise from the Prussian monarch of reinstatement in his service should better times arrive. At St. Petersburg, in the autumn of 1807, Wolzogen was appointed Major on the Quartermaster-General's Staff: and from this period until the close of the war he continued to rise in the same department. He was employed on important reconnaissances of the Western frontier before the French invasion; and during the war that followed seems to have

acted as a kind of scientific Mentor to Barclay de Tolly, whose favour he enjoyed, and whose retirement after the battle of Borodino he shared. In this period, he was made to feel the schism which divided the Russian army between the native party and its foreign officers; whom the former hated and thwarted—according to Welzenbach—with a pertinacity not less unpleasant to the objects of their jealousy than detrimental to the service. His account of the intrigues, abuses, and treacheries that prevailed in the service from this and other causes, and of the gross military incapacity and negligence of the native officers, may be somewhat coloured by resentment of their intrigues and ill treatment. Yet he makes no charge without giving detailed evidence in its support, or citing authority for his statements when he is not describing what he himself saw or heard. And he is as far from being altogether partial to his own countrymen in the service, that he describes them as one and all deficient in the qualities fit for high military command: so that his censure cannot be *prima facie* rejected on the ground of visible prejudice. Indeed, throughout the Russian campaign, and in that which was illustrated by the battle of Leipzig, the whole career of Wolzogen's remarks is to depreciate the military talents and organization of the Allies. When, besides this, he shows how jealousies between the combined powers conspired with want of skill in the leaders to play the game of Napoleon, the wonder seems not that the latter should have been overthrown so easily, but that he did not finally conquer. At one time the stake seemed hazardous enough. On the one side are seen disunion and inferior talent, made weaker by the utter want of any supreme will, not only in the united forces, but even in the several armies themselves:—of which, in the Russian body, some quite amazing instances are given. On the other, consummate genius, and long use of victory, ruling with undivided command the immense forces engaged in the campaigns of 1811 to 1813. For this deep advantage the soldier had to pay—*plectuntur animi*,—and but for the stubborn valour of the Russian boors, the desperate act of Rostopchin at Moscow, and, later, for the universal rising of the Germans, with the headlong resolution of Blücher, above all, the course of the war between 1811 and 1814 might have taken a turn of the consequences of which are incalculable. Such, at all events, is plainly the result of these commentaries by an incompetent judge.

Although Kutusow had assumed the chief command of the Russian army before the battle of Borodino, it is asserted by Wolzogen that he took no share whatever in that sanguinary action,—the charge and danger of which were left to Barclay de Tolly. Towards evening, says the Memoir, the Russians being defeated at most points,—but still reluctant to yield,—

Barclay commanded me to seek out Prince Kutusow, who, throughout the day, had not shown himself in any part of the line of battle;—to acquaint him with the respective positions of both armies, and to obtain from him directions as to further proceedings. He added,—"Make him give you the answer in writing,—for with Kutusow it is necessary to act surely." I rode about for some time before I could find the Prince:—at last, I discovered him and his suite,—which was so numerous that I took it for a corps de réserve,—on the highway to Moscow, about a mile and a half in the rear of the army. This suite was almost entirely composed of young, rich and noble Russians; who were indulging themselves in every kind of luxury, and had taken no share whatever in the terrible realities of the battle that day. Col. Toll, also, was of the party, and I found him engaged in devouring a capon. As I began my report on the positions and state of the Russian army,

and said that, except on the right wing and to the left of the causeway, all the posts of consequence were lost, and that the regiments everywhere were in the utmost exhaustion and disorder, Kutusow interrupted me by crying,—"At what jade of a sutler's have you been getting drunk, that you should bring me this absurd Report? I ought to know better than any one else how the battle has gone! The attacks of the French have been repulsed at every point; so that to-morrow I shall put myself at the head of the army, and drive the enemy, without more ado, from the sacred soil of Russia!" Hereupon, he looked round with a triumphant glance at his followers:—and they nodded enthusiastic approbation in return. This scandalous reception I felt was all the more offensive, inasmuch as I had only related what I had myself seen in the heat of the battle; and knew, on the other hand, that as for Kutusow, he had been lying safe in the rear of the army, amongst his champagne bottles and other delicacies. But I soon recovered my self-command—by thoroughly penetrating the cunning disingenuous purpose of Kutusow, which had suggested this manner of treating me. It is clear, said I to myself, his attendants are not to know the true state of the army; and that they may not contradict his prepared bulletins, they must be kept in the belief that the Russians have gained a glorious victory. In this scheme, he took it for granted, and justly, that Napoleon—who, for his part, after fighting from six in the morning until five in the afternoon, had not yet been able to win a complete victory, but had, in fact, broken off the action—was not likely to renew it,—so that the field of battle might be maintained by the Russians throughout the night. Accordingly, convinced that I had plainly seen through the motive of his violent diatribe against me, I answered him, with perfect composure, that I should leave it to him to treat my report as he might think best;—but that meanwhile Gen. Barclay desired to know, by a written order, whether he must continue the engagement, or what else he must do.

An order was thereupon sent to prepare for renewed action on the morrow:—and in accordance with this, the bulletin announcing a complete victory was, as Wolzogen had guessed, sent off to St. Petersburg. A few hours after it had been despatched, the sly Russian, having effected the purpose of his trick, gave orders for the inevitable retreat, which did not even cease at Moscow.—

The report of Kutusow's victory diffused the most lively joy in St. Petersburg:—a solemn *Te Deum* was sung, and the Emperor made Kutusow a Field-Marshal, accompanying this favour with a present of 100,000 gold roubles. Every soldier received a bonus of five roubles. But how rudely was the delusion of Alexander and of the Petersburg public destroyed when they learned, a few days afterwards, the abandonment of Moscow!

The commentaries on the German campaign in the following years abound in instances not less curious or characteristic than the preceding. But space is running short; and we shall merely borrow from these a short passage, which concludes with an expressive trait of old "Marshall Forwards,"—who, though rude in the higher arts of war, was never wanting in fierce determination and honest zeal, which other generals of the Allied forces but sparingly displayed,—while, if Wolzogen's criticism be just, they were not very apt to redeem this defect by superior talents in command.

At the battle of Gross Görschen, we learn that the Allied Army had, properly speaking, "no commander at all."

The monarchs had posted themselves on a hill a quarter of a league from Gross Görschen, from whence they could easily overlook the field of battle, without exposing themselves to danger. The Emperor Alexander, however, was anxious to display his courage:—as he had not been in the presence of the enemy since Austerlitz, on which occasion he was hurried off the field by the flight of his staff. Accordingly, he kept rushing on a sudden, without the least necessity, into the hottest of the fire; so that Wittgenstein was all day engaged in doing nothing

else but extricating him from it. Meanwhile, properly speaking, nobody commanded,—or, rather, every one did: the Emperor, D'Auray, Diebitsch, Blücher, Scharnhorst, (both the latter were soon wounded),—nay, even the Adjutant-Generals of the Emperor:—and, least of all, Wittgenstein [nominally the commander-in-chief,] who did not even so much as positively know how the brigades and regiments were standing.

No wonder that the result was a mere butchery of brave men in a series of unconnected and fruitless attacks. At nightfall,—

On the so-called *Monarch's Hill*, the Allies consulted what was to be done next; and whether the battle should be continued on the morrow. The Emperor Alexander greatly desired this; but when General Yermolow, the chief of his artillery, declared that there was no ammunition left, the Emperor, however indignant at the circumstance, now saw clearly enough that nothing further remained but to begin the retreat. \* \* When this resolution had been adopted, I heard an old Prussian general, who wore his arm in a sling, break out on a sudden into most eager protest against it. "What!" he exclaimed; "and so must all the blood that has been shed here have flowed to no purpose? As for me, I will make no retreat,—no, not one foot will I give way; but this very night I will cut into the French in a fashion that shall make those who have uttered the word *retreat* ashamed of themselves!" In the darkness I could not see who it was that spoke these words quite aloud, so that the monarchs could distinctly hear them:—but on inquiring who it might be, was answered—Blücher! I relate this anecdote, to show the uncommon vivacity and strength of the veteran, who at that time was already past seventy. He had ridden out of Rötha at two in the morning; and until now, at nine P.M., had been nearly the whole time on horseback, and in the hottest of the fight; besides which, he had borne a wound in the arm ever since noon."

Wolzogen's employments after the Peace were various, and mostly connected with his profession. The details of these are less interesting than the story of his campaigns; although here and there a passing glimpse of some eminent person, or the note of a pleasing or curious incident, relieves the general monotony of the narrative. He married happily, though almost romantically, in 1820,—in 1836 was superannuated, as he complains, by a court intrigue, while still in full command of his powers,—and lived in honoured retirement for nine years afterwards. We may thank this enforced leisure for the memoirs of his active career,—of the value of which some idea may now be entertained. It would require a wider survey than we can here attempt to do them entire justice.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*History of France from the earliest Period to the present Year.* Edited by Henry White, B.A.—We have already had occasion to speak favourably of Mr. White's "History of Great Britain and Ireland." The perusal of the present work has given us still greater pleasure. One reason for this may be, its greater freedom from the marked political bias which appeared in the former. If impartiality is an excellence in history generally, it is a *sine qua non* in educational histories.—Mr. White is remarkably happy in combining convenient brevity with sufficiency of information, clearness of exposition, and interest of detail. He shows great judgment in apportioning to each subject its due amount of consideration.

*C. C. Tacitus.—The Germany and Agricola, literally translated into English Prose, with original and select Notes.* By Henry Owgan, L.L.D.—Of this translation we have little to say, except that it is literal and more readable than some of its kind. In the notes there is more pedantry than sound learning. The author takes every possible opportunity of letting the reader know that he has some acquaintance with Sanscrit. Hence the etymology of many words is explained by a reference to that language. Yet *nomen* is made equivalent to *nominem*, and *sublimis* is said to come "from *subdere*,

[SEPT. 13, 1846]

qu. *sublevimis.*" To derive a noun from the inceptive form, instead of the root of a verb, is what we should not have expected from a Sanscrit scholar.

*Handbook of French Vocabulary.* Edited from the German.—*Handbook of German Vocabulary* of Dr. Carl Plötz, by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, M.A.

The English of these two works is the same,—so that in fact they are two different versions of the same thing. They differ from most other vocabularies and conversation books in not containing merely lists of words and their meanings, or complete sentences with translations, but single words and useful combinations of words, with a few sentences:—the object being rather to furnish the reader with the materials for making sentences for himself, than to burden his memory with ready-made ones. These materials are arranged under various heads,—such as dress, furniture, travelling, public amusements, adverbial phrases, and proverbs. The plan is good,—and the execution such as the name of the editor naturally leads us to expect.

*A General Gazetteer, or Compendious Geographical Dictionary, originally compiled by R. Brookes, M.D. The whole Revised and Corrected to the Present Period, by A. G. Findlay, F.R.G.S. New Edition.*—Brookes's Gazetteer is a standard work known to everybody as a useful book of reference. It is now nearly a century since it was first published. In the course of this long period great political changes have taken place, many geographical discoveries have been made, and many countries and towns have sprung up from obscurity to importance. Many editions of the 'Gazetteer' have also been issued, with additions and improvements corresponding to the gradual advances in enterprise, commerce, and knowledge. In the present edition nearly two thousand new names have been introduced, besides many changes in the treatment of the old ones. It is a little to be regretted that the publication was not deferred until the returns of the last census could be ascertained.

#### LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

- Albitez's (A.) How to Speak French, 2nd edit. fc. post 8vo. 3s. cl.  
 Bruce's (Rev. J. C.) Handbook of English History, new edit. 18mo. 6d.  
 Cobbin's Child's Commentator on the Stories, new edit. 18mo. 6d.  
 Collier's (W. D.) History of England, 2nd edit. 18mo. 6d.  
 Cummings's Foreshadow, or Lectures on the Miracles, 9vo. 9s.  
 Dallas's (Rev. A.) Recitation Readings, Vol. 2 12mo. 3s. 6d. cl.  
 De Porquet's Latin Grammar, 2nd edit. 12mo. 3s. 6d. cl.  
 De Porquet's Key to French Trésor, 12mo. 3s. 6d. cl.  
 De Porquet's Key to French Trésor, 3rd edit. 12mo. 3s. 6d. cl.  
 De Porquet's Modern Parisian Phraseology, 3rd edit. 12mo. 2s. 6d.  
 De Porquet's New Parisian Grammar, 2nd edit. 12mo. 3s. 6d. cl.  
 Economic Lib., Vol. 1, 'Rural Economy for Cottage Farmers,' 2s.  
 Edwards's (J.) Essays on the Divine Power, &c. 8vo. 2s. cl.  
 Eliza's (Mrs.) Tales of the Fairies, 12mo. 1s. 6d. cl.  
 Encyclopædia Metropolitana, V. 17.—Spouner on the Diseases of the Horse,' post 8vo. 3s. cl.  
 Evans's (Rev. W. E.) Songs of the Birds, 2nd edit. fc. 8vo. 2s. 6d. cl.  
 Evans's Treatise on Agricultural Building, folio. 3s. 6d. cl.  
 Evans's Signs of the End Times of Ancient Israel, 3s. 6d. cl.  
 Gavazzi, Life of, in Italian and English, 2s. 6d.; sep. 1s. 6d. each.  
 Geldart's (Mrs. T.) Truth is Everything, 2nd edit. fc. 8vo. 2s. 6d. cl.  
 Hall's (Mrs.) Stories, &c. from History of England, new edit. 7s. 6d.  
 Hall's (Rev. J.) Lessons of Life, 12mo. 1s. 6d. cl.  
 Howard's (Rev. W.) The Forbidden Fruit, 7th edit. 8vo. 10s. 6d. cl.  
 Irish Quarterly Review, No. 3, 8vo. 2s. 6d. avd.  
 Journal of Design and Manufactures, Vol. 3, 8vo. 7s. 6d. cl.  
 Kebble's Reference, or Commercial Handbook, 18mo. 1s. 6d.  
 Ladd's (J.) Home Book of Health, 12mo. 1s. 6d. cl.  
 Letters on Church Matters, by B. G. L., Vol. 2, 8vo. 2s. 6d. cl.  
 McCheyne's (R. M.) Familiar Letters, post 8vo. 1s. 6d. cl.  
 MacKenzie's (W.) Young Man's Counsellor, 18mo. 1s. 6d. cl.  
 Maguire's (O.) Sketches from Nature, and other Poems, 12mo. 5s.  
 Marryat's (Capt.) Marryat Ready, new edit. 2 vols. fc. 8vo. 12s.  
 Morris's History of British Birds, Vol. 1, with col. engravings, 17s.  
 My Flowers, 18mo. 2s. 6d. cl.  
 Parry's (Mrs.) Young Christian's Sunday Evening, Book 2, 3rd edit. fc. 8vo. 1s. 6d. cl.  
 Popular Library, four vol. 'Goldsmith's Life, Vicar of Wakefield,' &c. 2s. 6d. cl.  
 Popular Library, Vol. 4, 'Hawthorne's Mosses from an Old Mausoleum,' fc. 1s. 6d. cl.  
 Price's (O.) Proof and Discount Tables, oblong. 3s. 6d. cl.  
 Ruskin's (J.) Modern Painters, Vol. 1, 5th edit. Imp. 8vo. 18s. cl.  
 Secret's (The) Discovered, or Unhappiness of Proof of Unholiness, 1s. Selecta's Prescriptive, with Key and Literal Trans. 11th edit. 5s.  
 St. John's (S.) Elements of Geology, 12mo. 3s. cl.  
 Siebold's (Dr. H.) Natural History of Japan, 12mo. 3s. cl.  
 Synoptical Dictionary of Scripture Parallelisms and References, 10s. 6d. Testimony to the Truth, 3rd edit. fc. 8vo. 4s. 6d. cl.  
 Vestiges of Civilization, or the Etiology of History, 12mo. 1s. 6d. cl.  
 White's (O.) Manual of Little Children, &c. 12mo. 2s. 6d. cl.  
 Weller's (G. F.) Domestic Constitution and Management, 6s. 6d. cl.  
 Weaver's (Rev. H.) Poetry Calmly and Closely Considered, 7s. 6d. cl.  
 White's (J.) Third Book for Children, 23rd edit. 18mo. 10s. cl.

#### WONDERLAND.

MOURNFULLY listening to the wave's strange talk,  
 And marking with a sad and moistened eye  
 The summer days sink down behind the sea—  
 Sink down beneath the level brine, and fall  
 Into the Hades of forgotten things;—  
 A mighty longing stealth o'er the soul;  
 As of a man who pineth to behold  
 His idol in another land,—if yet  
 Her heart be treasured for him—if her eyes  
 Have yet the old love in them. Even so,  
 With passion strong as love and deep as death,  
 Yearneth the spirit after Wonderland.

Ah, happy, happy Land! The busy Soul  
 Calls up in pictures of the half-shut eye  
 Thy shores of splendour. As a fair blind girl  
 Who thinks the roses must be beautiful,  
 But cannot see their beauty. Olden tones  
 Borne on the bosom of the breeze from far,—  
 Angels that came to the young heart in dreams  
 And then like birds of passage flew away,—  
 Return. The rugged steersman at the wheel  
 Softens into a cloudy shape. The sails  
 Move to a music of their own. Brave bark,  
 Speed well and bear us unto Wonderland!

Leave far behind thee the next earth, where men  
 Spend their dark days in weaving their own shrouds,—  
 And fraud and wrong are crowned kings,—and toil  
 Hath chains for hire,—and all creation groans,  
 Crying in its great bitterness to God,—  
 And Love can never speak the thing it feels,  
 Or save the thing it loves—is succourless.  
 For if one say, "I love thee,"—what poor words  
 They are! Whilst they are spoken, the beloved  
 Travelleth as a doomed lamb the road of death,  
 And sorrow blanches the fair hair and pales  
 The tinted cheek. Not so in Wonderland!

There, larger natures sport themselves at ease  
 'Neath kindlier suns that nurture fairer flowers,  
 And richer harvests billow in the vales,  
 And passionate kisses fall on god-like brows  
 As summer rain. And never know they there  
 The passion that is desolation's prey—  
 The bitter tears begotten of farewells—  
 Endless renunciations when the heart  
 Loseth the all it lived for—vows forgot—  
 Cold looks—estranged voices—all the woes  
 That poison earth's delight. For Love endures,  
 Nor fades nor changes in the Wonderland!

—Alas! the rugged steersman at the wheel  
 Comes back again to vision. The hoarse sea  
 Speaketh from its great heart of discontent,  
 And in the misty distance dies away  
 The Wonderland! —Tis past and gone. O Soul!  
 Whilst yet unbodied thou didst summer there  
 God saw thee led thee forth from the green haunts,  
 And bade thee know another world—less fair,  
 Less calm. Ambition, knowledge, and desire  
 Drove from thee thy first worship. Live and learn—  
 Believe and wait, and it may be that He  
 Will guide thee back again to Wonderland.

CRADOCK NEWTON.

#### THE ARCTIC EXPEDITIONS.

It is at last our pleasant duty to record that authentic intelligence has been received by the Admiralty of Sir John Franklin's Expedition, which confirms beyond doubt the safety of the ships Erebus and Terror during the winter of 1845-6. The traces of that Expedition already discovered, as our readers know, on Cape Riley, were of a nature to lead to this conclusion:—and it now appears beyond all doubt that Sir John Franklin passed his first winter near that Cape. This is a step of great importance in the progress of the anxious inquiry which has now been busy so long after the missing Expedition:—because the belief that the ships had foundered in Baffin's Bay at the very outset of their course lay at the bottom of many of the objections which were made to the risk of life and expenditure of money for the purpose of seeking them amongst the ice.

Our last accounts of the searching Expeditions stated that they were engaged in following up the traces they believed to have been certainly found: and it is to the exertions of Capt. Ommanney, Capt. Penny, and Capt. De Haven of the United States Expedition, that we are now indebted for the cheering information contained in the following communications, made by Capt. Parker, of the Truelove whaler, to the Admiralty,—and which have been brought home by Capt. Ord, of the Tyne, of Berwick-upon-Tweed. It was received by Capt. Parker, on the 12th of July, from the American vessels so honourably co-operating with ours in the search for the lost Expedition.—

Memorandum from Capt. Parker, of the Truelove.

(1.)

On the 26th of August, 1850, traces were found to northward of Port Innes, Wellington Channel, confirming those previously found at Cape Riley by Capt. Ommanney. These consisted of fragments of clothing, preserved meat tins, and scraps of paper, one of these bearing the name of M'Donald, medical officer in the Expedition.

(2.)

On the 27th, Capt. Penny's parties reported graves. These were at once visited by Capt. De Haven, Mr. Penny, and

Dr. Kane. They bore respectively the names of W. Urquhart, R.M., and John Hartnell, of the Erebus, and John Trott, of the Terror,—the date of the latest death being the 3rd of April, 1846.

Added to these sad and unmistakable evidences were the remains of the observatory, carpenters' shop, and armament, forge, Upon the hill side to which were fragments of wood, metal, and clothing, with stacks of empty meat tins. Every thing indicated permanency and organization. There can be no doubt that the cove between Cape Riley and Baffin Island, facing Lancaster Sound, was the first winter station of the missing vessels. On the 31st of September the previous ice of the Wellington Channel underwent a complete disruption, and by the 6th several vessels penetrated the Cornwallis side. Such, however, was the impenetrable character of the pack in Lancaster Sound, that by the 10th of September the entire searching squadron was again centred about eight miles south of Griffith's Island.

This was the furthest westing attained by the American Expedition. The latest dates from Commodore Austin are of the 13th of September. They were then in more expectation of making winter quarters; and it is probable that a small harbour discovered by Capt. Ommanney about three miles east of Cape Martyr was the haven selected.

Thence the American vessels, while proceeding homeward, were frozen in opposite Wellington Channel, drifting during the ensuing winter from a latitude of 75° 25' through out the channel and sound into Baffin's Bay. Their location, after much exposure and trial, took place on the 10th of June, 1851, at a point south of Cape Washington, 65° 30'—a linear drift exceeding 1,050 miles.

The commotion of the ice with its attendant uncertainty was their chief source of trial. Every officer and man had marked scurvy disease, but no deaths have occurred. The crews are now refreshed, and the Expedition is now deavouring to regain the seat of search.—I have, &c.

E. K. KATE, Surgeon to the Expedition.

The cove here mentioned as the first winter quarters of the missing ships is in close proximity to Cape Riley,—and it is admirably adapted for the purpose for which it was selected by Sir John Franklin.

The apparent absence of any papers testifies the up to the period of the departure of the Expedition in the spring or summer of 1846 no disaster had occurred to prevent its progress. The death of the three seamen can be ranked only as ordinary casualties,—and may have arisen from circumstances unconnected with the Expedition. We have ascertained at the Admiralty that the names of these three seamen were borne on the books of the Erebus and Terror,—and that they did belong to those ships.

Our readers will remember the thrilling account given by Sir James Ross of the drifting of his ship in their icy cradles from Port Leopold to Lancaster Sound. That strange voyage is, however, far surpassed in strangeness by the adventure of the American ships. These were carried by the ice not only through Barrow's Straits into Lancaster Sound—but down Baffin's Bay to a point south of Cape Washington:—a distance, as mentioned in the above memorandum, exceeding 1,050 miles. Such a voyage must have been replete with stirring incidents,—and it will doubtless form a striking feature in the history of that particular searching expedition. It abundantly confirms the suspicion that there is a strong set of the Arctic Sea out of Lancaster Sound down Baffin's Bay:—and we can hardly help thinking that a diligent search of the western shores of that bay—and more particularly of the coast of Cumberland Island—would result in the discovery of canisters thrown overboard by the missing ships,—as their commanders had orders to do periodically.

Our readers will, we believe, share our feelings of pleasure on hearing that the gallant little Prince Albert has again entered the Arctic Ocean:—and was when last seen in company of the American ships near the Duck Islands. At that time, all her crew were well.

The Admiralty are in daily expectation of receiving despatches stated to have been left by them by the American ships at Sieveye:—which will doubtless contain further details of the new traces of our missing countrymen. We strongly hope, now, that the autumn will not close without bringing decisive intelligence respecting them. Had the Admiralty despatched a steamer this summer to communicate with the searching ships, such a result would have been almost certain.

Immediately after the above had been written, Capt. Penny arrived at the Admiralty, with despatches from Capt. Austin and an account of his own explorations with the ships under his command. We must at this late hour defer until

last week the publication of an abstract of these voluminous documents, with such remarks on the proceedings of Capt. Austin and his brother officers as the nature of their exertions to find the missing Expedition may call forth. But we may now briefly state that Capt. Austin having despatched two walking parties,—the one along the northern shore of Barrow's Straits, which attained the longitude of  $114^{\circ} 20' W.$ , being as far as the south-western part of Melville Island,—the other along the southern shore of the same channel, which reached the longitude of  $103^{\circ} 25' W.$ —he came to the conclusion that Sir John Franklin's Expedition had not penetrated to the southward or westward of Wellington Strait: and he was therefore determined on attempting this summer the examination of Jones's Sound, which is situated at the western head of Baffin's Bay.

I may further mention that the task of exploring Wellington Channel devolved on Capt. Penny—who, in  $76^{\circ} 2' N.$  lat. and  $95^{\circ} 55' W.$  long., discovered another strait diverging from the former, which presented twenty five miles of clear water, with an island bearing west, distant forty miles, and a headland, distant fifteen miles, west by north, the dark sky over which indicated the presence of water. A considerable portion of this strait and 310 miles of coast were explored by a lost party, without finding any traces of the object of their search.

Thus, beyond the discovery of the remains of the steamer of Sir John Franklin's Expedition near Cape Riley during the winter of 1845-6, on which information had already been received, the despatches brought home by Capt. Penny, though abounding with highly interesting details, are unfortunately as regards the great object of the searching squadron of an entirely negative nature.

We shall, however, present our readers in our next number with such extracts as shall enable them to comprehend clearly what the various exploring parties have effected.

#### ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES.

Sept. 3.

Col. Rawlinson states, in his communication on "Assyrian Antiquities," that Sennacherib "commanded his career by subjugating the Babylonians under their king, Merodach-baladan;" and he also informs us that it appears from the Assyrian inscription that Sennacherib, in the third year of his reign, threatened Jerusalem,—whereupon Hezekiah made submission and offered tribute:—which latter proceeding Col. Rawlinson identifies with the transactions alluded to in Scripture (2 Kings, xviii. 17-17); but he is of opinion that the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's army took place about sixteen or fifteen years after the campaign in the third year of Sennacherib. However, in a letter which you did me the honour to insert in the last number of the *Athenæum*, I endeavoured to point out that the submission of Hezekiah and the destruction of that portion of the Assyrian army which was at the siege of Jerusalem both took place in the course of the campaign in the third year of Sennacherib and the fourteenth year of Hezekiah.

Now, on turning to the Scriptural accounts, we find that in or immediately after the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah, which lasted twenty-two years, and during the siege of Jerusalem (Isaiah, xxvii. 5, and 2 Kings, xx. 6) the famous illness and miraculous recovery of Hezekiah occurred; when the addition of fifteen years to his life was promised, and the retrogression of the shadow of the sun on the dial of Ahaz took place.

We are then told (Isaiah, xxxix) that "at that time Merodach-baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah: for he had heard that he had been sick, and was recovered;" and in another place (2 Chronicles, xxii. 31) we find that these ambassadors, who are called "the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon," came not only to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery from illness, but also "to inquire of the wonder that was done in the land." Whether this "wonder" was the miracle performed on the dial of Ahaz, or that of the destruction of the Assyrians, it seems clear that this embassy took place during or (more probably) soon after the

siege of Jerusalem, which commenced in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign,—and necessarily not earlier than the beginning of the fifteenth year before Hezekiah's death.

The question then arises, "How could Merodach-baladan, 'the son of Baladan, king of Babylon,' be in a position to send an embassy from Babylon to an enemy of Sennacherib, in or after the third year of the latter king's reign, as the inscription informs us, the Babylonians under Merodach-baladan their king were subjugated by Sennacherib at the very commencement of his reign?"

If Col. Rawlinson's researches have placed it in his power to clear up the difficulty which I have pointed out, it is to be hoped that he will communicate the facts to the public. In the meantime, speculation on the subject seems to be premature.

I am, &c. J. G.

I perceive that the very interesting letter from Col. Rawlinson, which you recently published has led to some remarks from a correspondent who signs himself "J. G."—I trust I may be permitted to offer some additional remarks on the same subject.

I quite agree with "J. G." that the destruction of Sennacherib's army before Jerusalem closely followed his successes recorded in the inscription; and that the reason of its not being noticed on the Bull is, that the Assyrian monarchs recorded only their successes.

I cannot, however, agree with him, that there is any mistake in the Biblical chronology of the conquest of Samaria,—the interval between which and Sennacherib's success against Hezekiah is limited to five years. It appears to me that Col. Rawlinson is mistaken in supposing that the conquest of Samaria occurred in the first year of Sargon.

In the first place, I am not disposed to admit that the name which the Colonel reads *Samarina* is the Samaria of Scripture. The initial character of this name is that which begins the names of *Saparda* and *Thattagus* in the inscription on the tomb of Darius,—and which forms the second syllable of the name of Persia (*Parse*) on the portal at Persepolis. From etymological considerations, I have valued it *tsd*. The next two syllables are written indifferently *mir-i* and *mi-ri*. I am disposed to read the whole name *Ir-tsdimirina*, מִרְןֵתְסָדִים ; though it is possible that the initial character may be a mere determinative. I have been for a very long time undecided as to the city alluded to. Sometimes, I have leaned to *Simyra* (see *Ges. Thes.* 1173); at other times, I have been strongly disposed to consider *tsomerin* as the plural of the Assyrian equivalent of the Hebrew *tomer*, "a palm-tree,"—and to identify the city with Tadmor, or Palmyra:—but I could never bring myself to think that it was the Hebrew *Shimron*,—the former part of which would naturally be expressed by three Assyrian characters totally different from those used.

Besides, I cannot agree with Col. Rawlinson in supposing *Bith-Khumria* to be the same as *Tsamirina*. They appear to me to be clearly different places, though not far distant from each other:—and agreeing as I do with Col. Rawlinson that the former is *Beth-Oouri*, or Samaria, I must seek the latter elsewhere. Now, it is from *Tsamirina*, and not from *Bith-Khumria*, that the deportation was made which Col. Rawlinson identifies with the captivity of the Ten Tribes.

But, secondly, if the identity of these places be conceded, I see no proof that this deportation took place in the first year of *Sargin*. The inscriptions in which alone it is mentioned do not appear to be in chronological order:—so that, though the defeat of the *Negas*, or sovereign, of Susiana and the deportation of the people of *Tsamirina* are placed first, they may not have been first in order of time. What relates to the Egyptians, which immediately follows, occurred in two different years, the second and the seventh,—as appears from the inscription in the form of Annals.

The defeat of *Khanun*, king of Gaza (*Khadzithi*, or *Khajithi*, in the genitive, the theme of which would be *Khadzith*, حـذـثـةـ, aided by the *Tartan*, or general, of the Egyptians, at Raphia, (on the frontiers of Egypt, where Antiochus was defeated

by Ptolemy, 218 b.c.) was in the second year of *Sargin*:—the tribute of the king of Egypt, whose name I think to be *Pehor* (*Bocchoris*), and not the title *Pharaoh*, was not paid till the seventh.

I observe that Col. Rawlinson has been puzzled by the title *Tartan*,—the second significant character in which is in the principal copy of the inscription written *lib* in place of *td*. This, however, is an error of either the sculptor or the copier, which I have corrected by means of the other copies. This reading is of great importance,—as the name *Tartan* occurs in 2 Kings, xviii. 17 (along with *Rab-saris*, chief eunuch, and *Rab-shakeh*, chief butler, which are, like it, names of office),—and again Isaiah, xx. 1, where it has been supposed that the same person is alluded to. *Tartan* is "the general"; and in all probability different generals commanded on these two occasions. The same word is used to express "general" on the Nimrod obelisk. The first character is a homophone of that which here expresses *tar*, and the two others are precisely the same.

I must also express my doubts whether the *Sargon* and *Shalmanezer* of Scripture were the same king. In my paper on the Khorsabad inscriptions, I considered Shalmanezer to be a son of the *Khorsabad* king, an elder brother of Sennacherib. Col. Rawlinson considers Shalmanezer to be the reading of a title given to *Sargin* at Khorsabad. He has not, however, pointed out the title to which he alludes; and I do not, as yet, see any reason to alter the opinion which I formerly expressed.

While, however, I thus express my dissent from what Col. Rawlinson has stated about the mention of the captivity of Israel in the Khorsabad inscription,—thinking that the Assyrian record of this event remains to be discovered,—I have no doubt at all of the correctness of what he has stated concerning the account of Sennacherib's war with Hezekiah; and I heartily congratulate him on his having made so important a discovery.

I am, &c. EDW. HINCKS.  
Killyleagh, county Down, Sept. 8.

Claymore, Enfield.

The communication of Col. Rawlinson to your paper of the 23rd of August is one of the deepest interest to those who are engaged in the study of Scripture and profane chronology. Will you allow me, therefore, through your medium to offer some suggestions to the Colonel and those occupied in deciphering the annals of the Assyrian kings with regard to the chronology of the period; and also to direct their attention to one or two points which they have the means at once of verifying or the contrary?

The current Scripture chronology of the reign of Hezekiah, which governs that of Shalmanezer and Sennacherib, appears to me highly defective; inasmuch as that reign, which is placed between the years b.c. 726 and 698, stands eighteen years above the first year of Asaradim king of Babylon, of the Canon of Ptolemy, b.c. 680. For, this last king can be no other than the Esarhaddon of Scripture, and the Asordanes of Polyhistor; and Polyhistor relates that Sennacherib placed him on the throne of Babylon during his reign in Assyria. The reign of Hezekiah ought therefore to be found in part concurrent with that of Ptolemy's Asaradim. Mr. Clinton in his Chronology—and Sir Henry Ellis in his edition of Blair's "Tables"—have been compelled therefore to substitute the Asordanes of Polyhistor for the Apronadius of the Canon b.c. 699:—for which there is no warrant, and which is clearly contrary to the meaning of Polyhistor's record.

If we will consent to accept the evidence of Polyhistor as it is written, (preserved by Eusebius, though rejected by him,) and also the evidence of another independent writer of the third century before Christ, preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. 1, viz. Demetrius the Jew,—the whole chronology of the period becomes plain and consistent.

Eusebius remarks, that Polyhistor places the first year of Sennacherib 88 years before the succession of Nabopolassar. Now, here we have a fixed point to start from. For, the years of the reign of Nabopolassar are certified by an eclipse observed

at Babylon in his fifth year; and adding 88 years to the last year of his reign b.c. 605, brings us to b.c. 693 for the first year of Sennacherib.

Polyhistor gives 18 years to Sennacherib, and 8 to his son, who we know was Esarhaddon. So that, Esarhaddon ceased to reign in the year b.c. 668,—the very year of the death of Asaradon of the Canon at Babylon. The correctness of Polyhistor's statement is thus strongly confirmed.

Again,—Demetrius the Jew informs us, (and whose authority could be better!) that the Ten Tribes were carried away 473 years and 9 months before the reign of Ptolemy Philopater—that is, 473 years 9 months + 221 years 2 months = 694 years 11 months = Feb. b.c. 695:—which fixes the sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah, in which Samaria was taken by Shalmaneser, to the second year before Sennacherib came to the throne of Nineveh. Thus is Col. Rawlinson's suggestion of a second invasion of Palestine towards the end of the reign of Shalmaneser confirmed. As the records of this king at Khorsabad extend to his fifteenth year, and Samaria was besieged by him for three whole years, his reign must have lasted not less than 18 years. If we say 19 years, the first of Shalmaneser will fall in b.c. 712, which is the last year

of the reign of Pekah, king of Israel:—which throws light on a passage in Isaiah not before interpreted. For, the inscriptions relate that Shalmaneser in his first year (b.c. 712) came against Samaria; and Isaiah, writing while Ahaz and Pekah were both reigning,—that is, between b.c. 715 and 712,—predicts that before his son shall be able to cry “my father and my mother”—that is, before two years shall have expired—“the spoil of Samaria shall be taken,”—Isaiah, viii. 4. The predicted invasion is that recorded at Khorsabad, when 27,000 families and upwards were carried away.

Now, the questions I would ask are:—

1st. Do the inscriptions bear out the suggestion that Pekah, and not Hosea, was the captive on this invasion?

2nd. Do they confirm the statement of Polyhistor, that Sennacherib during his reign over Assyria placed his son Esarhaddon on the throne of Babylon?

If these points are confirmed, I feel no doubt of the correctness of the inclosed table of the chronology of that period; and I shall hereafter take the liberty of communicating the interesting results, as regards Scripture chronology between this period and the birth of Christ, which necessarily flow from it. I am, &c. J. W. BOBANQUET.

B.C.	Judea.	Samaria.	Babylon.	Assyria.	
716		16 Pekah			
5	1 Ahaz	17			
4	2	18			
3	3	19			
2	4	20			
1	5			1 Shalmaneser	Invasion of Samaria. Inscript. at Khorsabad.
710	6			2	
9	7			3	
8	8			4	
7	9			5	
6	10			6	
5	11			7	
4	12			8	
3	13	1 Hosea		9	
2	14	2		10	
1	15	3		11	
700	1 Hezekiah	4		12	
9	2	5		13	
8	3	6		14	
7	4	7		15	
6	5	8		16	
5	6	9		17	
4	7			18	
3	8	Reglibelus		19	
2	9	Mesopot.-Merodach		20	
1	10			1 Sennacherib	
690	11			2	Tribute laid on Hezekiah. Inscription at
9	12			3	Khounjik.
8	13			4	
7	14			5	Invasion of Judea by Sennacherib. Demetrius.
6	15			6	
5	16			7	
4	17			8	
3	18			9	
2	19			10	
1	20			11	
680	21			12	
9	22	1 Asaradon		13	
8	23	2		14	Easarhaddon made king of Babylon. Poly-
7	24	3		15	histor.
6	25	4		16	
5	26	5		17	
4	27	6		18	
3	28	7		1 Sesarhaddon	
2	29	8		2	
1		9		3	
670		10		4	
9		11		5	
8		12		6	
7		13		7	
6				8	

#### THE BARONESS VON BECK.

The book of the Baroneess von Beck, so confidently pronounced in a Birmingham police court to be an imposture, may perhaps turn out to be no imposture at all. In the course of the week light has been thrown on the case from more than one quarter which suggests the possibility of the Baroneess's integrity—or, on the other hand, leaves the case yet darker against those of her countrymen who suffered the fraud to flourish so long if fraud there were. M. Constant Derra de Moroda, her companion and alleged secretary, has addressed a letter to the *Times* in which he proves that Mr. Paul Hajnik—on whose testimony mainly the Baroneess has been condemned—stated on the same occasion that which is entirely untrue of himself (M. Derra):—and he infers, logically enough, that the proved untruth, or mistake, in the one case renders it more likely that Mr. Hajnik should be wrong in the other, than that Sabbas

Wakovics, Minister of Justice in Hungary during the whole period of Kossuth's government, Count Paul Esterhazy, and three Hungarian officers—from all of whom he incloses letters addressed to the Baroneess von Beck, and fully recognizing her as such—should have been false or deceived.—M. Pulszky, too, has addressed a letter to the *Times*, in which he makes use of an evasion so transparent that the case against him, as stated by us last week, is far more unsatisfactory than it was. He says in explanation of his own admission that “Bentley had accepted the book in consequence of what he said,” to the effect that he merely understood Mr. Bentley to be consulting him as to whether the book was amusing, and on its consequent prospects as a commercial speculation. It is obvious to every one that Mr. Bentley was quite competent to judge for himself, or by his readers, whether or not the book was amusing,—and that when he went out of his way to consult

a person so exceptional as the avowed agent of Kossuth respecting a book which professed to give an account of missions undertaken by Kossuth, desire, he was in search of satisfaction as to facts—M. Pulszky's letter to Mr. Bentley was a virtual guarantee of the Baroneess's character:—and the publisher very naturally, in a letter also addressed to the *Times*, expresses his surprise at now finding strong suspicions against the character of Madame von Beck, whose work he had thus far recommended, without ever conveying his opinion to him.

Mr. Bentley gives the following account of the way in which the book came into his hands—which it will appear that he considered himself as have also the guarantee of Lord Dudley Stuart.—“At the commencement of June, 1850, the Baroneess von Beck called upon me to propose the publication of the narrative of her adventures in the late Hungarian revolution, which she assured me would be countenanced by Lord Dudley Stuart, from whom she added that she had received permission to dedicate it. That this representation was correct I could have no reason to doubt, within a few days after this interview (in which I confess her earnestness of manner so favourably impressed me as to lead me to accept the proposed work) his Lordship's Secretary called to advise himself on her behalf that the agreement she had entered into with me was disadvantageous to her, and after examining the memorandum, expressed his satisfaction at what he termed my liberality.”

To ourselves Mr. Bentley writes as follows:—“Answer to a question of ours founded on the information, made in the Birmingham police court, that the person calling herself the Baroneess von Beck was ‘totally illiterate’”—“In the *Athenæum* of the 6th inst. you ask—‘Who wrote the Baroneess von Beck's book?’ I reply,—the Baroneess von Beck herself. If Mr. Toumlin Smith can give me a better answer, I trust he will not hesitate to do so. The manuscript was placed by me in the hands of Mr. M. A. Garvey for translation, with full liberty to make such corrections as he might judge necessary in a work coming from an unpractised writer, provided that the corrections were in cases sanctioned by the Baroneess.—Mr. Garvey most ably and faithfully accomplished his task. His translation contains, I am confident, not one fact or expression which does not exist in the original. This document is in my possession, and may be inspected by any one interested in the matter.”

In conclusion, we may add that M. Constant Derra affirms that “he does not despair of being able to show that the Baroneess was really who she represented herself:”—and Mr. Bentley, who expresses his own opinion that the lady was an impostor, announces that he is promised in a few days “a full statement of the case, based on documentary evidence,”—and recommends the public to suspend its judgment.

#### FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

##### The Earthquake at Amalfi.

Naples, August 21.

The details of the terrible earthquake which took place at Malfi on the 14th of this month reached Naples but slowly. Each post brings notice of accumulated amount of suffering—an augmented list of deaths,—and particulars of a devastation surpassing anything that has occurred in the Italian Peninsula for many years. The Official Journal publishes a vague account of the catastrophe—vague, indeed, that it is impossible to gather a clear idea of it from the Government report. I have, however, seen several persons from Malfi, and from their narratives will endeavour to give some idea of this awful visitation. The morning of the 14th of August was very sultry, and a languid atmosphere prevailed. It was remarked that unusual silence appeared to extend over the entire world. The hum of insects ceased,—the feathered tribes were mute,—not a breath of wind moved the arid vegetation. About half-past two o'clock the town of Malfi rocked for about six seconds, and nearly every building fell in. The number of

and actually levelled with the earth is 163,—of which partially destroyed 98, and slightly damaged 55. Five monastic establishments were destroyed, and seven churches including the cathedral. The fatal event occurred at a time when most of the inhabitants of a better condition were at dinner; and the result is, that out of the whole population only 700 dead bodies have already been dug out of the ruins,—and it is supposed that not less than 1,000 are yet entombed. A college accommodating boys and their teachers is no longer traceable. The melancholy event does not end here. The neighbouring village of Ascoli has also suffered:—32 houses having fallen in, and the church being buried in the ground. More than 200 persons died there. Another small town, Barile, has entirely disappeared; and a lake has arisen from the levels of the earth, the waters being warm brackish.

I proceed to give a few anecdotes, as narrated by persons who have arrived in Naples from the scene of horror.—"I was travelling," says one, "within the environs of Malfi when I observed three cars drawn to doubt, and a man falling into the earth; from the third I observed a man and a boy descend and run into a vineyard which skirted the road. Shortly after, I think about two seconds, the third car was swallowed up. We stopped our carriage, and proceeded to the spot where the man and boy stood. The former I found stupefied,—he was both deaf and dumb; the boy appeared to be out of his mind, and spoke wildly, as follows, — 'I am speechless.'—Another informant says:—Malfi and all around present a singular and melancholy appearance:—houses levelled or partially fallen in,—here and there the ground broken by large gaps displaying volcanic action,—men wandering about stupefied,—men searching through the ruins,—women weeping,—children here desolate and there crying for their parents,—and some dying in me in the crushed examples of humanity carrying off articulation, with loss of furniture. The authorities are nowhere to be seen."—A third person states,—"I am from Malfi, unprovided, and was near a monastery when the earthquake occurred. A peasant told me that the water in a neighbouring well was quite hot:—a few moments later he saw the building fall. I fell on the ground, silent, not knowing nothing more. I thought that I had had a fit."

The town of Malfi—or, Amalfi—is 150 miles west of Naples, and about the centre of the boot:—it is difficult, therefore, to gain information. M. Constantine, of the Government, I should add, sent a company of pair of engineers and miners to assist the afflicted nine days ago. The earthquake!—and a medical commission is sent to-morrow.—In conclusion, I may observe, that the lady was at Vesuvius for a long time been singularly interested in a series.—The shock of earthquake was felt slightly, though sensibly, from Naples round to Sorrento. I have just heard that the shocks have not ceased in the district of Malfi,—and it is supposed that volcanic agency is still active. Indeed, my informant anticipates that an eruption will take place:—and probably some extraordinary phenomena may appear in this neighbourhood. The volcanic action appears to have taken the direction of Sicily,—as reports have arrived stating that the shocks were felt in that direction far more strongly than in that of Naples. I shall send you further particulars as far as I can do so with certainty.

Above the multitude of minor advantages which the Italian official Journalist has conferred on the Londoners, at least is the thorough reform and restoration which have taken place in the inscriptions of the names of all streets, lanes and courts. We have referred to the progress of this reform on several previous occasions; and we are glad to observe that length it appears to be almost completed. The restoration has certainly been of the most general character. We find traces of it in all quarters of the town. In some of the newest streets of the suburbia the builders still persist in their absurd practice of affixing no conspicuous inscription at the corners of "places," "terraces," &c., completed yesterday, and the names and localities of which are known to scarcely a human being except the

owners of the land and leases. The mistakes and the inconveniences perpetually arising from this short-sighted omission are among the minor miseries of London suburban life. The evil, however, of streets without legible names has very nearly ceased altogether in the central parts of the town and in the City; and the effect even on those who are in the habit of moving a good deal about is singular. In the more crowded parts of the City, for example, where courts and alleys with the most quaint and grotesque titles swarm on all hands, an observant pedestrian may pick up in the course of a short ramble quite a curious chapter of cross-readings,—and may certainly much improve the accuracy of his local knowledge. Before the completion of the late inscription reform it was no uncommon thing for the policemen—who are the peripatetic finger-posts of London—to be quite at a loss to tell the names of streets and places not within their immediate beat. There is now no such difficulty. All who run may read; and we find the good consequences in a sensible increase of facility in what the French call the "circulation."

The Scottish papers report the death of Mr. William Nicol,—well known in Edinburgh as a lecturer on Natural Philosophy, and for many contributions to the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*. "His most valuable contribution to physical science," says the *Scotsman*, "and with which his name will ever be associated—was his invention of the single image prism of calcareous spar, known to the scientific world as Nicol's Prism."

The Moneyers ceased to be a part of the Mint establishment on the 11th of July last; and the tenders for coining the public money, received in answer to more than one advertisement in the public papers, have one and all been at such high "figures" that Government, on the recommendation of Sir John Herschel, has now undertaken to coin for the public on its own account. Many of the workmen employed by the Company of Moneyers have been retained by the new Master; and a new coinage is, we are told, to be put in hand forthwith. It is uncertain, we believe, whether Mr. Wyon or Mr. Pistrucci will be retained on the new establishment; but it is understood that the old offices of "Clerk of the Irons" and "Chief Engraver" are, or will be, abolished, and that the title of "Chief Coiner" will be given to the officer appointed in their stead. What the amount of compensation to the "Moneyers" has been, we have not heard.

"There are two or three enterprises of importance," says a correspondent, "required to be taken in hand and completed in order to afford to the inhabitants of this great city all the facilities for moving readily from place to place so eminently desirable in London. We want an extension of the South-Western Railway from Waterloo Road to London Bridge. We want Southwark Bridge opened without toll,—the Eastern Counties Railway carried from Shoreditch to somewhere about Fenchurch Street,—and a new street between Holborn and Fleet Street. The opening of Cannon Street will not afford much relief so long as Southwark is kept virtually closed; and we cannot, therefore, hope to see any sensible abatement of the constant congestion which prevails all day long between King William Street and St. Paul's Churchyard. The extension of the South-Western line to London Bridge would be an immense gain. It would at once create a new city of villas in the delightful fields which lie on that line within three or four miles of London. In the same manner, the introduction of the Eastern Counties terminus further into the City would accomplish two very desirable objects:—it would infinitely improve the position of that unlucky company,—and it would afford a new and excellent outlet for our confined City population. Those whom it may concern should look to these points."

As friends to education, we rejoice to see that the Queen's Colleges in Ireland are triumphant over all obstacles. The reports published by the Presidents are most satisfactory. It appears that double the previous number of Roman Catholic students have this year matriculated at Galway; and in order to appreciate the significance of this fact, it must be recollect that Galway is the chief

town of Connaught,—the most Roman Catholic province of Ireland. From Cork and Belfast the reports are equally cheering; and we observe that the Roman Catholic Dean of Residence at Cork has given his testimony that he can see nothing prejudicial either to faith or to morals in the working of the new Colleges. We do not think we are premature in saying, that the Colleges are now securely established, and firmly supported by the public opinion of Ireland.

In reference to a subject which has undergone a good deal of discussion in our columns, following on a question put by us [see *Athenæum*, No. 1128] in our notice of Barthold's "History of the Fruit-bearing Society,"—we have lately been addressed by a correspondent, who calls attention to a recent essay on the "History of the Stage in Prussia," by Prof. Hagen. In this the existence of a miscellaneous tribe of "English players," and the performance by them and others of various pieces borrowed from the productions of our stage, are distinctly traced in various cities of North Germany during the first half of the seventeenth century. Their introduction seems to have been partly direct, perhaps through the Hanseatic connexion with England,—partly intermediate, from the Low Countries. As to the channel, some uncertainty in the details would result from the fact, as stated by Prof. Hagen, that "in the beginning of the seventeenth century the name 'Low Country comedians' included foreign players as well from England as from the Netherlands." He also concludes that the "English comedies were originally given in the Low Country language," from a notice given in the German at Bremen. The "players" are not to be confounded with the "English vaulters and riders," or with the "fiddlers, pipers, and trumpeters" of that nation, who appear, as a pretty numerous class of vagrant performers in Germany, as early as the second half of the sixteenth century. The essay contains many curious notices of German travesties of English dramatic pieces, and details of the progress and success of the "English comedians":—among whom we find in 1611 a company of nineteen performers managed by one John Spenser, "Comedians from England and the Low Countries" playing in the Baltic provinces and engaged on festival occasions at several princely courts, not in North Germany alone. The latest sign of any direct influence of the English theatre on the German stage at this period is said to occur in 1682.

—As the antiquities of the subject belong rather to the special antiquities of the stage than to general literature, we shall not attempt to pursue them through the excerpts from town-records and other notices collected by Prof. Hagen. Our object is fulfilled by directing to his essay the attention of those who are expressly occupied in this field of inquiry. It will be found in a periodical entitled *Neue Preussische Provinzial-Blätter*, Königsberg, 1850, (Tag & Koch publishers,) Vol. X. Nos. 3 & 4.

The New York papers continue to bring melancholy accounts of the health of Mr. J. Fenimore Cooper, the great American novelist. According to them, his long literary work is done,—and he is fast sinking to that rest which shall leave only his many (and some of them admirable) works to testify of him.

A correspondent travelling in Northern Germany sends us the following observations on the great social misfortune of the potato disease in the district through which he has lately passed.—

"Knowing the interest which you take in all matters that involve social considerations and contingencies, I think you will be painfully interested in hearing that throughout the north of Germany the potato disease has made most rapid progress. When I left London, a short time ago, fears were beginning to be entertained for the crop in Ireland. Many districts were then reported to have suffered severely from the blight:—but, so far as I am aware, no fears were then felt for the crop in the great potato-growing plains of the north of Europe. Within the last seven days, I have passed, from Cologne to Berlin, through hundreds of miles of diseased roots,—and in many places the decay was so far advanced as to make the atmosphere quite intolerable. Already the effect of this calamity

[SEPT. 13, 1851]

mity is felt in the market price of food in these countries,—and even in England it is next to impossible that its influence should not be serious. Few misfortunes could be greater than another general failure of this great staple; and those who have it in their power to take precaution should bestir themselves in time.—It is already bitterly cold in North Germany, and there is every prospect of a severe winter to aggravate the calamity."

Joint-stock companies are now in progress of being formed for promoting steam intercourse between the west of Ireland and America. The *Daily News* remarks:—"The question to be solved is, not whether the voyage from New York to Galway can be made in so many hours less than that from Halifax to Liverpool, or whether the gain of time so attainable would compensate for the additional trouble of crossing Ireland by railway and taking ship again to pass the Channel,—but simply, what is the shortest and surest transit from the westernmost shore of one hemisphere to the easternmost coast of the other." This is certainly the question, as it concerns the future of the two continents; it is only to be inquired further, whether this question is identical with the question of immediate commercial demand. That is the question for a joint-stock company.

The *Journal des Débats* announces a munificent bequest which has just accrued to the Academy of Sciences in Paris. Dr. Jecker, a physician eminent for his labours on the subjects of physiology and microscopic anatomy, has left a legacy of 200,000 francs (8,000£.) for the foundation of an annual prize to be given to the author of the most useful work on organic chemistry.

"As," says a letter from Constantinople, "it has been established that the mountain chain which divides Greenland in its entire length is composed of formations resembling those of the Ural Mountains,—and as, therefore, there is reason to suppose that, like them, it may abound in mines of precious metal,—Mr. Godfrey Lund, a member of the Chamber of Commerce at Copenhagen, and Sir Walter Trevelyan, an English mineralogist, known for his exploration of the Faroe Islands, have sent into Greenland a commission of English, Danish and Norwegian mineralogists, to make borings in the mountains and in the adjacent lands, with a view to settling the question of the existence of precious metals."

A correspondent writes to us as follows.—"Hanover is a good instance of what railways may do, and are doing, for the great cities of the earth. This sombre and picturesque town—formerly dark and uninviting to the eye as the vast and almost barren plain on which it stands—is gradually acquiring a new character. The square of the railway station—a long, varied and agreeable building in itself—is now nearly completed; the gardens are formed; the range of hotels is built up to the last story; the two broad and handsome streets leading towards the promenade in front of the new palace are nearly finished;—and altogether the ground unoccupied a few years ago between the palace and the station is now covered with buildings of a picturesque and princely aspect. Between this new district and the old town of Hanover—the Hanover of our first three Georges—the Hanover of Leibnitz and Herschel—the contrast is very striking. Curiously enough, few English now visit Hanover. Generally, the guide-books tell the traveller that it is not worth seeing—but this is great mistake. Independently of its intimate connexion with our history for more than a century,—a connexion closer and more personal than that of any other city on the Continent,—of the memories of its illustrious citizens,—of its possible reunion with the British Crown,—it has streets and aspects of most picturesque and Rembrandt-like beauty. Leibnitz's house, in the Schmiedegasse, is a gem of Middle Age architecture, and would compose with great effect in a painting of serious and sombre interest. But the new power is changing the character of the architecture,—as it is changing the character of the people. The form, situation and outward aspect of cities were chiefly determined of old by religion and feudalism. Generally, the first building was an abbey or a castle; other structures gradually arose

around the centre, and took somewhat of its character. The new power promises to be not less effective. A railway station soon becomes a centre of life and movement. Within its immediate radius, pulses go quicker,—time beats more regularly,—there, if anywhere, are action, vitality and progress. This quickening spirit is less evident in England than abroad,—for at home few of our towns are completely stagnant; but the contrast between Crewe and Wells, for example, is sufficiently apparent. As a builder of towns, the Railway is a most beneficent as well as a most fertile power. In England we feel its social influences most intensely:—of what it can do for the Arts, and especially for Architecture, we have still in a great measure to seek illustrations at such places as Ghent, Heidelberg and Hanover."

**SKETCHES AND DRAWINGS**, at the Gallery, 5, Pall Mall East, comprising, amongst other important works, CHOICE SPECIMENS by Turner, R.A.; Madox, R.A.; Roberts, R.A.; Stanfield, R.A.; Waterhouse, R.A.; Hunt, R.A.; Winton, R.A.; Cooper, R.A.; Lewis, R.A.; Creston, R.A.; Frith, R.A.; Ward, R.A.; Eg, R.A.; Pickering, A.R.A.; Hook, A.R.A.; Copley Fielding, John; Lewis, Cattermole, Hunt, Leitch, Linnell, Lance, O'Neill, Armitage, Cross, &c. Open from Ten till dusk.—Admission, 1s. —  
GALLERY, 5, Pall Mall East.

SAMUEL STEPNEY, Sec.

**The last Month of the Season.**  
The ORIGINAL DIORAMA, Regent's Park.—NOW EXHIBITING. Two highly interesting Pictures, each 76 feet broad and 50 feet high, representing MOUNT ETNA, in Sicily, during an Eruption; and the ROYAL CASTLE of STOLZENFELS on the Rhine, with various effects. Admission to both Pictures only One Shilling.—Children under twelve years, half-price. Open from Ten till Six.

**GALLERY OF ILLUSTRATION**, 14, Regent Street.—The DISPLAY of the OVERLAND MAIL to INDIA, showing Southampton, Cintra, the Tagus, Tarifa, Gibraltar, Algiers, Malta, Alexandria, Cairo, the Red Sea, Aden, Ceylon, Madras, Calcutta, and the magnificent Mausoleum, "The Taj Mahal," the exterior by moonlight, the beautiful gateway, and gorgeous interior, embellished with gold, silver, &c., three, and eight o'clock. (Immediately preceded by the CRYSTAL PALACE)—A WINTER GARDEN.—Admission, 1s., 2s. 6d. and 3s. Doors open half-an-hour before each representation.

The GREAT DIORAMA of JERUSALEM and the HOLY LAND, ST. GEORGE'S GALLERY, HYDE PARK CORNER, by Messrs. Partlett and Beverly.—An entire section of this grand SERIES of PICTURES is devoted to the Holy City, with its solemn and interesting associations, including BEER-SHEBA, THE GARDEN OF EDEN, THE VALLEY OF JEHOASHAPHAT, POOL OF Siloam, MOUNT ZION, SITE OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, JEWS' PLACE OF WAILING, and the HOLY SEPULCHRE,—with Magnificent Views of the Temple, and accompanied by GRAND SACRED VOCAL MUSIC, at Half-Twelve, Three, and Eight o'clock.—Admission, 1s.; Reserved Seats, 2s.; Stalls, 3s.—Daily, at Twelve, Three and Eight o'clock. Doors open half-an-hour previous to each Exhibition.

ST. GEORGE'S GALLERY, HYDE PARK CORNER.  
The GREAT DIORAMA of the CITIES and SCENERY of EUROPE, HAVE LONDON.—A few weeks back of the close of the Great Exhibition, MR. CHARLES MARSHALL'S GRAND TOUR THROUGH EUROPE presents extensive PANORAMAS of the CITIES of EUROPE; Magnificent Scenery of the Danube, Rhine, and Vosges, through Switzerland, the Alpine passes, and home the Cities of Britain.—Tourists' Gallery, Leicester Square.—Admission, 1s.; Reserved Seats, 2s.; Stalls, 3s.—Daily, at Twelve, Three and Eight o'clock. Doors open half-an-hour previous to each Exhibition.

**THE GREAT EXHIBITION AND THE ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION.** All the MOST INTERESTING DEPOSITS at the GREAT EXHIBITION will, in turn, be LECTURED ON at the ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION.—THE PRESENT LECTURES are by J. H. Pepper, Esq., on the Application of the PRINCIPLES OF the MANUFACTURES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM now exhibited in the CRYSTAL PALACE; and by Dr. Buchbommer on the ELECTRO-METALLIC DEPOSITS, there illustrated by a SPLENDID SERIES of Messrs. Elkington's SPECIMENS.—The Exhibition of the OX, YAK, CAMEL, CROCODILE, &c., magnifying objects upwards of 100 times their natural size.—THE GREAT ART OF COOKING BY GAS explained.—A LECTURE on the HISTORY of the HARE, by Frederic Chatterton, Esq., with Vocal Illustrations.—A SERIES of SPLENDID DISSOLVING VIEWS, DIBS, and DIB NOVELS, &c.—Admission, 1s.; Schools, Half-pence.—Open daily from half-past Ten till Five, and every evening from Seven till half past Ten.

## SCIENTIFIC

### SOCIETIES.

**ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE.**—Aug. 14.—The Earl of Carlisle in the chair.—Mr. Birch read a communication (in a letter addressed to himself) from Col. Rawlinson, containing an account of the discovery of the annals of the king who built the great Palace of Koyunjik, identifying him with the Sennacherib of Scripture. [The substance of this paper has been communicated by Col. Rawlinson himself to the *Athenæum*, ante, p. 902.]—The Bishop of Gibraltar exhibited, and commented on some very perfect "rubbings" of hieroglyphic inscriptions on the door-posts of the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, and on other Egyptian monuments, made by the sister of Dr. Lieder.—A conversation followed respecting the pretended recent discovery of an immense deposit of ancient Greek MSS., by a monk named Simonides, near Mount Athos.—It resulted in a general opinion that the monk is an impostor.

**Aug. 28.**—Sir J. Doratt in the chair.—The Secretary read a memoir by Sir G. Wilkinson on "One of the Egyptian Cartouches found by Dr. Layard at Nimroud."—This paper began with reference to some important observations by Mr. Birch, in a communication printed in Vol. III., Second Series, of the Society's Transactions, respecting the correspondence of the name *Abra*, or *Uba-re*, found on some remains at Nimroud, with those of two Egyptian kings in the Turin Papyrus. *Uba* was a well-known title of the sun; and on a small scarabæus brought by Sir G. Wilkinson from Thebes, a distinguished Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty, Queen *Amoun-noushet*, is styled "*Uba-re* (the shining sun) in the foreign country." This was the sovereign who erected the great obelisk at Karnak, as well as many other grand monuments in Egypt; and who, though called the wife and sister of Thothmes the Third, reigned several years before he came to the throne, and always took precedence of him whenever their names were mentioned on the same inscription. The expression "in the foreign country" probably denotes her having been the wife of a foreign prince before her marriage with Thothmes the Third; and this may perhaps explain the prejudice which made him erase her name from the monuments after her death. Marriages of the Egyptian royal family with foreigners were frequent; from such connexions were derived the claims through which Asiatic and Ethiopian kings, at various times, succeeded in obtaining the throne of Egypt; and that intermarriages took place between the royal houses of Egypt and Assyria can scarcely be doubted. The conclusion of Sir G. Wilkinson's communication threw considerable light on the difficult question of the precise extent of the Egyptian conquests in Asia and Africa. It is evident that the Pharaohs contended for long series of years for the possession of parts of Mesopotamia and other provinces of Asia. The conquests of the Pharaohs over the Ethiopians and the Negroes of Africa also date at a very early time, and the monuments show that Osiris the Third ruled in Ethiopia, though it appears that the Egyptian frontier was still formally continued at the second cataract, and that Osiris the Third extended it to Samneh.—Mr. Birch commenced reading a disquisition on the same subject—the limits of the Empire of the Pharaohs.

## FINE ARTS

### FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE.

Berlin.

I have spent the day in visiting the *ateliers* of some of the most renowned sculptors of the Prussian capital:—and I think some of your Art-readers—of whom, by the way, you have many in this country—will be interested in hearing of the chief works now in progress here.

Kiss, who has returned to Germany crowned with new laurels, I am sorry to say, is not engaged in any new work of importance. I had the pleasure of inspecting all his models of the famous "Amazon group,"—and so of tracing its history from the first conception in the artist's hands to the finished work which has gained such universal applause in the Crystal Palace. A most interesting history it is, showing the laborious thought, the patient industry, the beautiful and truthful elaboration of the sculptor's genius. The panther was modelled from life;—the Berlin Zoological Gardens supplying the original. There is in the Professor's *atelier* a colossal study of the Amazon's head, in which the terrible energy, the heroic lineaments, and the striking mixture of fear, disgust and resolution are still more finely rendered than either in the bronze cast or in the zinc copy familiar to your readers.—Apropos of this statue, you quoted a few weeks ago from some English newspaper a report to the effect that the Prince of Prussia intended to present to our Queen the original, now standing on a pedestal of the Berlin Museum,—but with an expression of doubt on your part as to the possible truth of the report. Your doubt was well founded. The Prince of Prussia could no more give our Queen the "Amazon" group than Prince Albert could send Louis Napoleon the Nelson Column. The fa-

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ence on which the photographers are at present operating cannot fail to bring increased advantages to the architectural student more particularly. No man can trace with such geometric fidelity the complicated forms of Gothic tracery, impart so materially the varieties of surface, or discriminate so exactly the delicate gradations of light and shade, as the photographer. For the presentation of such qualities on surfaces of larger dimensions than the world of taste is now indebted to M. Eugène Piot. Six transcripts, by him, from the Campo Santo at Pisa and the Cathedral Church of Santa Maria del Fiore at Florence are given in the first number of a recently published work, with a precision of detail and elegance of style that would create no little astonishment in the respective authors of those edifices could they "revisit the glances of the moon." This series of the "Photographie d'Italie Monumentale" will make the Tourist publishers look to their laurels and their ledgers; while the draughtsman will in future scarcely think it worth his while to devote his time to a branch of topographic description in which his labours are superseded by means with whose accu-

racy no human eye or hand can hope to compete. The value of this accuracy is especially enhanced in subjects such as M. Piot has here presented,—where sculpture forms so distinguishing a feature in the decorative parts that enrich the dry geometric details of construction.

Unflagging in their endeavours to maintain the interest of their panorama—Messrs. Warren, Fahey and Bonomi have been induced even at this dull season of the year to open additional "tableaux" to their well-known Panorama of the Nile. The subjects added represent the principal streets of Cairo—the Bab Zweyleh, and the Gooreyeh or chief bazaar:—and the ceremonies are, those of the Dosch and the procession of the Mahim.

The Continental papers announce that the magnificent gallery of pictures belonging to the late Marquis Rinuccini, rich in master-pieces of the great Italian painters, will be sold by auction in the Rinuccini Palace, in Florence, on the 1st of May in next year.

The inhabitants of Schaffhausen have been inaugurating a monument to the memory of the historian John von Müller in that, his native, town. The monument—which is the work of the Swiss sculptor Oechslin—is composed of a colossal marble bust of the historian,—on a lofty granite pedestal, ornamented with a bas-relief, in marble, representing the Muse of History engaging Müller to write the great events of his country's story. Below, inscribed in characters of gold, is the following passage from one of Müller's own letters:—"I have never been on the side of party,—but always on that of truth and justice wherever I could recognize them."

From Aix-la-Chapelle, it is stated, that the King of Prussia has ordered the restoration of the Grand Hall of the Hôtel de Ville, in which thirty-seven emperors and eleven empresses have been crowned.

A letter from Mayence contains the following.—"It is known that Mozart was painted twice only from the life:—once by the German painter Tischbein,—the other time by an Italian painter, Father Martini, of Bologna. Both pictures had disappeared. In recently taking an inventory of the effects of a former violinist of the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt's Chapel, the first of these pictures was found, signed with the autograph monogram of Tischbein. The immortal author of 'Don Giovanni' appears here in a coat of French fashion, green in colour, large frill, waist-coat of yellow satin, and powdered wig. Two inhabitants of Mayence—M. Arntz, Professor of Natural Philosophy, and M. Schulze, the organist—who knew Mozart personally, affirm that the portrait presents a striking likeness;—and the former adds, that the costume given is precisely that which Mozart was accustomed to wear when he played on the piano at the Court of the Elector. This portrait differs essentially from all the engraved likenesses of Mozart. Most of these were probably taken from a medal struck, in 1784, at Munich, in honour of the great musician."

#### MUSIC AND THE DRAMA

HAYMARKET.—"Grandmother Grizzle" is the name of a new piece produced at this theatre. The adaptation from the French vaudeville, founded on "Ma Grand'mère," the celebrated song by M. Béranger, has been accomplished with characteristic breadth of effect by Mr. Buckstone. To the dialogue and situations of "La Douairière de Brienne" he has made many additions,—placing the scene at Chudleigh, in Devonshire. He has also contrived to give a thoroughly English tone to the sentiments; and has done much to conciliate an English audience towards the experiment of tolerating a single-character piece. Mrs. Fitzwilliam has to support the weight of the impersonation. *Grandmother Grizzle*, finding fault with all things and persons, and then melted to generosity by a bottle of wonderfully old wine, had in this lady an artistic representative. The scene is one of great difficulty,—dependent on what may be termed "histrionic interpretation"; and this, Mrs. Fitzwilliam gave to it with elaborate effect.

At its close, the versatile actress had to re-appear as Griselda's grandson, little *Steve Pinchbecke*; and she astonished the audience by the readiness and facility with which she assumed a new and opposite character. Mr. Buckstone acted as chorus to the principal part, in the person of a drunken butler, whose wonder at his mistress is broadly and dashingly portrayed.—English audiences, as we have intimated, have to be educated into relishing such a piece as this,—which, from its necessary monotony, becomes tedious if not so understood as to be thoroughly appreciated in its commencement and progress. When the intelligence of the house has become sufficiently informed as to the nature and design of the monodrama, its indisputable merits will be sure to command attention.—"Grandmother Grizzle" may be accepted as a worthy pendant to "Monsieur Jacques."

OLYMPIC.—A farce, founded on the French anecdote of the barber who cut his customers' throats, and disposed of them to a pieman next door, was produced here on Monday. It is entitled 'I've eaten my Friend,' and deals with the terrors of Mr. Jellytop (Mr. Compton) a lodger at a meat-pie shop in Whitechapel, who detects at dinner a button, marked F.D., in his pie. Forthwith, he imagines all the horrors related of the French barber:—an account of whom he had recently read. At the climax, however, of his perplexity, his friend, a "fraternal democrat," appears,—and an explanation is given of the process by which the button found its way into the pie. A secret connected with the pieman's business enhances the mystery to be cleared up. The ingredients of his *cuisine* are peculiarly delicate and savoury,—being, in fact, game supplied by poachers; and poor Jellytop's horror is increased by the consciousness that he had actually liked the dish! The suspicion that he has the appetite of a cannibal is intolerable,—and the effect is irresistibly humorous. In this sort of character Mr. Compton is inimitable. He gives to it, however trifling or absurd, a classical importance:—the aridity of his style greatly concurring to this effect.

ST. JAMES'S.—The Bateman children have appeared since our last notice in *Shylock* and *Portia*, and in *Macbeth* and his lady:—the fourth act of 'The Merchant of Venice' and the first and second of 'Macbeth' being the parts selected. The system of imitation on which these children have been instructed becomes more apparent as the characters in which they appear are multiplied. All Edmund Kean's points are retained in the Shylock,—and Mr. Macready's are closely copied in the Macbeth. Some traditional tincture of Mrs. Siddons, too, has been imparted to Kate; but the more violent speeches—such as "I have given suck," &c.—are omitted:—probably because it was felt that their effect as proceeding from the lips of a child would be too ridiculous. The virago was, however, epitomized with more than sufficient audacity; and the laughter produced by the exaggerated, though highly trained, effort furnished the best comment on the outrage here committed on all that is sound in art and sacred in poetry. The house on Monday was crowded:—the diseased taste for precious exhibition being with the vulgar a kind of passion. The audience was of a very mixed character,—not of that select order usually seen at this theatre.

SADLER'S WELLS.—This theatre is trying the experiment of comedy:—which recent additions to the company enable the management to cast efficiently.—Holcroft's 'Road to Ruin' was produced on Wednesday, with success. The *Old Dornton* of Mr. Barrett had in it something of the smack of former times. He is an actor who has founded himself on such models as Downton and Munden,—and gave the banker and father with breadth and pathos. Mr. Ray was *Silly*,—and acted it with that genial aptitude which has more than once induced us to distinguish him from the herd of subordinate performers. But the most remarkable hit of the evening was Mrs. Marston's *Widow Warren*. Since Mrs. Glover's it has not been equalled.

[SEPT. 13, 1851]

When we add, that Mr. Hoskins was *Goldfinch* and Mr. H. Marston *Harry Dornton*, it will be seen that the leading parts were supported by adequate representatives.

**MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC GOSSIP.** — The first performances out of London of the amateur actors playing for the Guild of Literature and Art are fixed, for November the 10th and November the 12th, at Bath and Bristol.

The *Constitutionnel* of Paris speaks in the highest praise of a prodigy whose name is Paladilhe,—the very young son of a physician at Montpellier, and whose power and precocity in music are said to be almost without precedent save in the case of Mozart. This is news, as we have a hundred times said, which, however welcome, cannot be received without grave solicitude by those who count up the instances of wreck and waste caused by too eager an acceptance and too feverish a development of what may be called infant genius.

#### MISCELLANEA

**Approaches to Windsor Castle.** — The long talked of extensive improvements in the approaches to Windsor Castle were commenced last week by order of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Woods and Forests, after the plans and under the direction of Mr. Page, the Government architect. The massive iron gates, stone buttresses, and palisading connected with the lodge at the grand entrance to the Castle by Park Street, have been removed, and the lodges at the entrance to the Long Walk taken down. Two magnificent gates are to be erected here:—one leading to the Castle to be reserved for the sole use of Her Majesty and the Royal Family,—and the other for the use of the public in passing and repassing to and from the Long Walk. The design of these gates has been completed some time since by Mr. Page, and is very elaborate; the ornaments include the arms of every British monarch from the time of the Norman conquest. The gates are to be constructed on a new self-acting principle, and by which they will be made to open and close as the carriages approach and depart without the assistance of the gate-keeper. The high road to Old Windsor by Frogmore has been stopped, the Hope Inn and all the buildings in that neighbourhood have been taken down, and henceforth the road will be used only as a carriage drive to the residence of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent. The old wall inclosing the Home Park by Fryingpan Walk will be immediately pulled down,—and several vistas have already been made by the felling of trees in the avenue leading in the direction of the keeper's lodge by the old Waterloo gates. The park paling on the Frogmore side of the Long Walk will be taken away and replaced by an invisible fence:—the alteration will add much to the beauty of this matchless avenue. The Royal property adjoining Frogmore Lodge, and known as Shaw Farm, consisting of about 500 acres of arable and meadow land, will shortly be given up by its present tenant to Prince Albert, for the purpose of being converted into a model farm by his Royal Highness, and the old dairy at Frogmore will be removed thither. —*Times*.

**Egypt.** — A report of M. Guignaut, member of the French Academy, to the government, on the voyage of discovery made by M. Lotteri de Laval in Arabia and Egypt, has been published. A catalogue is appended of the bas-reliefs and casts, numbering 684, which have been the result of that mission.—The French Assembly have voted 3,120*l.* for continuing the excavations at Nineveh and exploring Mesopotamia; and 1,200*l.* for clearing out the Temple of Serapis, discovered among the ruins of Memphis,—and for transporting to France the objects of Art which are discovered. This monument offers many remarkable features. It dates from the period when the Greek ceremonies were mixed with those of the primitive Egyptian.—*Architect*.

**TO CORRESPONDENTS.** — J. D. — A Railway Traveller — X. A. P. — A Member of the Society of Friends—J. U. — received.

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